

School of Theology at Claremont



1001 1316838



The Library
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT

WEST FOOTHILL AT COLLEGE AVENUE
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA

398
H32

FREUDIAN ESSAYS
ON RELIGION AND SCIENCE

FREUDIAN ESSAYS ON RELIGION AND SCIENCE

CAVENDISH MOXON

(M. A. Oxford)



Louis Baint

BOSTON
RICHARD G. BADGER, PUBLISHER
THE GORHAM PRESS

COPYRIGHT, 1926, BY RICHARD G. BADGER

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Theology Library
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE GORHAM PRESS, BOSTON, U. S. A.

PREFACE

The Psychoanalyst is well aware that even the most brilliant mind of the best equipped, unanalysed person is unable to read psychoanalytic literature without unconscious resistance and emotional bias. It is clear that the very subject matter of the "depth" psychology of the primitive and repressed tendencies in human nature can only be clearly grasped by persons who see the evidence for themselves in their own analysis at the hands of a competent analyst. Persons who have read some psychoanalytic books before being analysed often remark how little they were able to see as compared with the insight gained into the theoretical and practical problems of life as a result of analysis. The very points in Freudian theory before most violently resisted are afterwards accepted by the overwhelming evidence that comes to consciousness when the repressive forces are removed. Even the relatively normal mind has unconscious reasons for rejecting some of the discoveries of Freud, the founder of Psychoanalysis, and still greater difficulties about the deeper discoveries of Rank who, in his profound and epoch making work on the Trauma of Birth, has given a psycho-biological foundation for Freud's findings, and, by his new technique, has made possible the removal of the deepest and strongest of all resistances due to the primal and universal mother-fixation.

Still the fact remains that the not too neurotic unanalysed reader is able to gain from the careful study of psychoanalytic books some insight which can be used in erotic, social and educational relationships, to avoid the more obvious mistakes and to improve psycho-physical

health. The author of the following essays is therefore not without hope that they may stimulate readers to further study of the psycho-analytic discoveries, which not only illuminate many dark places in the world, but, when based on personal experience, give a degree of control and direction of impulse beyond any other technical means hitherto discovered by man.

The author wishes to express his thanks to his wife for her help in the making of this book; and to the editors of the International Journal of Psychoanalysis, the Psychoanalytic Review, the British Journal of Medical Psychology, the American Journal of Psychology, The Journal of Abnormal Psychology, and the Open Court for permission to re-print articles that appeared therein.

San Francisco

March 1926.

CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I RELIGION IN THE LIGHT OF PSYCHOANALYSIS	9
II A PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF THE CHRISTIAN <u>CREED</u>	19
III THE INFLUENCE OF CREATIVE DESIRE UPON THE ARGUMENT FOR <u>IMMORTALITY</u> . . .	34
IV EPILEPTIC TRAITS IN PAUL OF TARSUS . . .	41
V THE INFLUENCE OF CREATIVE DESIRE UPON DREAM-STATES	51
VI REGRESSIVE FORCES IN HUMAN FELLOWSHIP	60
VII FREUDIAN CRIMINOLOGY	70
VIII FREUDIAN THEORY AND SEXUAL ENLIGHTENMENT: A STUDY OF RESISTANCES . . .	79
IX M. COUE'S THEORY AND PRACTICE OF AUTO-SUGGESTION	92
X THE DEVELOPMENT OF LIBIDO IN FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE	102
XI FREUD'S DEATH INSTINCT AND RANK'S LIBIDO THEORY	120

FREUDIAN ESSAYS ON RELIGION AND SCIENCE

CHAPTER I

RELIGION IN THE LIGHT OF PSYCHOANALYSIS¹

The study of religious phenomena by means of the psycho-analytic method has already led to results of immense importance for all who have either a theoretical or practical interest in the subject². Indeed Freud's theory of the origin of existing kinds of religion is comparable to Darwin's theory of the origin of existing kinds of animals. Darwin gave the world some good reasons for believing in the evolution of complex animals from simple organisms; and Darwinians have shown that elaborate forms of religious faith have developed from simpler and cruder symbols. The science of historical criticism has compelled the thoughtful believers in a divine revelation to admit that the new moral ideals and religious truths are partly determined by previous codes and creeds. Intelligent Christians see that Christianity for example, did not come down from heaven ready made; its roots are clearly seen to lie in the soil of its Jewish and Greek environment. It is generally agreed that religions grow; but the manner of their growth has been the subject of many conflicting theories.

¹ First published in the Psychoanalytic Review 1921. Revised 1926.

² Freud Totem and Taboo. Rank Das Trauma der Geburt. Reik Der Eigene und der Fremde Gott and Pubertätsriten der Wilden. Jones Essays in Applied Psycho Analysis.

It is only the work of Freud and his followers that has made it possible to form a clear idea of the deep psychical forces that cause religions to spring up at a certain point in the evolution of human society. In the light of the new psychology of the unconscious, religion appears no longer either as an inexplicable miracle of divine grace or as a rational device of crafty and greedy priests. In certain conditions of life and culture, religion is as natural a product of the psyche as poetry, phantasy and other means of diversion from painful work. The Freudian is not content to accept the religious man's reasons for the faith that is in him. These "reasons" are discovered often to be a mere after-thought, a rationalization or a forcing of unconscious tendencies and desires into forms that are acceptable to the moral consciousness. Religious belief gives a symbolic satisfaction for hidden impulses, lowly emotions and primitive ideas. The psycho-analysts have proved that even in religion the wish is verily father to the thought.

It is no longer a mystery that many unreasonable beliefs have the power to persist in spite of repeated criticism or disproof. The rationalist is often amazed that beliefs undermined by science are not at once abandoned by all reasoning men. The Freudian knows that religion is not primarily a rational product. Therefore no merely rational attack can overthrow a belief that satisfies the deepest instincts and emotions of man. Reason is used in religion for the confirmation of the hopes that love begets.

The psyche, according to Freud, is a dynamic process. Sensations enter it. Images are made and stored either in the pre-conscious mind as memory or in the unconscious mind whence they cannot normally be recalled.

Affective energy is there piled up ready for practical use. When the sensations are pleasant the psyche desires to keep them before it. In order to restore the pleasure that is lost by their disappearance the psyche may first try to bring them back in imagination, and thus forms a lasting habit of fantasy thinking and myth making. The infant soon learns that this hallucinatory method gives very little satisfaction when there is a material need. In this case the child must learn to make the muscular movements appropriate to a recall of the external stimuli which release the painful tensions of desire. In order to understand the religious experience it is necessary to study man's strivings for psycho-physical pleasure from earliest infancy. Even experiences in the first years of childhood are now known to exercise a permanently directive force upon the later mental and moral and religious growth.

The first stage of human development is marked by self-centered interest and pleasure. The infant loves its own body and its own soul. Then comes the stage of object love and this is naturally directed towards the mother, the father and other members of the family circle. All but perverted or regressive individuals pass from self-love to family-love, but many fail to proceed from family-love to the choice of a lover for marriage from a wider circle of interest. Too often the child's love-force is fixed upon an indulgent parent. To the developing moral ego the earlier childish libidinal fantasies are too painful to be consciously enjoyed and must be repressed. The primitive desire for a return to the closest possible union with the parents sinks later under its burden of guilt to unconscious levels of the psyche and seeks the indirect, disguised symbolic outlet that religion offers.³

³ This process may now be studied in Rank's *Das Trauma der Geburt*.

When the development of the love-life is normally complete a happy marriage is possible. The surplus energy can then be applied to such impersonal objects of interest, desire and devotion as science, art, and social reform. If no direct and natural outlet for love appears, the mental and bodily health are in danger of breaking down in the vain attempt to repress the whole sexual energy or to displace it wholly on to altruistic or supernatural substitutes at the bidding of conscience and convention.

The love which is either unconsciously fixed on a parent or unable to find a satisfying parent substitute seeks various symbolic satisfactions as a compromise. Hence it is at puberty that the need occurs for God as a substitute for the Mother, the Father and the broken ideal of the self. Religious conversion therefore usually happens at this period of great moral repression and psychical advance. The convert in his time of stress reverts to the primitive mode of symbolic thought. The symbol serves his purpose because it is a product of the unconscious. It is a compromise between unconscious, forbidden desires and the demand of the conscious mind. The symbol satisfies the deeper needs of the person who is consciously ignorant of its meaning. There is thus a remarkable similarity of the symbols used in all the products of the unconscious in wit, dreams, insanity, poetry, mythology, theology and cultus. The symbols indeed are many but the simple ideas symbolized are few. Symbols represent ideas of the self, the closest blood relatives and the events of birth, love, and death. These primitive interests form the roots of all our highest activities. Mental progress, says Dr. Ernest Jones (see his chapter on Symbolism in his *Papers on Psychoanalysis*) includes ever a double movement—first a construction of complex

from simple symbols and afterwards the destruction or unmasking of these symbols by more adequate ideas of reality. The symbol-building tendency of the mind is ever making creeds and sacraments and the sceptical tendency to separate the kernel of truth from its symbolic husks is ever breaking up the old beliefs and rites.

The Freudian analysis of mental process is opposed to the religious claim that the "spiritual reality" is the cause of its symbols. The fact appears to be that the concrete symbol is always prior to its abstract product⁴. The contrary view is only plausible because one concrete idea or symbol is sometimes consciously used to express another collateral idea that has sprung from the same root and grown into a more abstract form. In this case the concrete is not strictly speaking the symbol of the abstract idea, but merely in associative connection with it. The Bull calf symbol in the Old Testament is not caused by the idea of a Creator. Both the abstract idea of the Creator and the concrete image of the Bull are symbolic projections of Man's creative life-force and love-energy. "The Father" in the New Testament is not the symbolic product of an abstract idea of a being of infinitely tender care for his world. Both ideas are substitutes for the image of the human father; only "the Father" is a more concrete symbol than the modern metaphysical conception of the Godhead. Both ideas are produced to satisfy the same infantile cravings of the unconscious life at the instigation of the disappointments and sorrow of human experience.

The defenders of God's objective reality often support their belief by the evidence of the saints and prophets

⁴ Since the above was written Rank's biological foundation for symbol formation has been laid down in *Das Trauma der Geburt*.

who feel God's presence and inspiration as a force external to their soul. But the *feeling* of God's externality or transcendence may be psychoanalytically explained by the projection of the heart's desire in symbolic form. Gods and Goddesses are inevitable products of the unconscious desire for a parental authority. To the consciousness of the worshipper the divine words of comfort and command seem to come from without the self. The poets often express a similar feeling that their "inspired" verse came into their mind as if from some external source beyond the control of their own intelligence and will. And many mediums sincerely imagine that their unconscious writing and speech proceed from a disembodied or absent intelligence.

There is abundant psycho-analytic proof of the jealous hate felt by many boys for their father who is for them the embodiment of repressive authority and the rival for the affections of the mother. Consequently in some religions there is a belief in the death or the maiming of the divine Father who has received the hostile feelings originally felt for the human father. Parental love is symbolized by the loving Father God in religions that express the reaction of conscious civilized piety against savage infantile hate.

Man's substitution of a perfect divine Father for his own imperfect human father shows the strong tendency of the mind to project its feelings on to the symbolic objects of its desires. After transferring love and hate from the human to the divine Father, the next step is to imagine that the God likewise feels love or hate towards his worshipper. Indeed these contrary feelings are frequently found to coexist in the heart of men and Gods. In cases of what Freud calls the ambivalence of emotions the analysis shows that the love is usually con-

scious and the hate or dislike unconscious in normal adults. And in religion the vengeance and "the wrath of God" are usually ascribed to motives of righteous justice. The Christian God is said to love the sinner and hate the sin. Human love is cruel as well as kind. The sadistic component of love finds its pleasure in giving pain to the object loved; the masochistic element enjoys a passive subjection to the harsh domination of the lover. Both these tendencies of love are satisfied by religious doctrine. God is kind and cruel. If he rewards some men in heaven he punishes others in hell. Some theologians have even suggested that the saved will enjoy the heavenly vision of the damned in hell.

The Psycho-analytic investigators have shown that the creation and perpetuation of religious symbols can no longer be simply ascribed to the motive of fear. The regressive myth making fantasies of unsatisfied love are merely stimulated by anxiety and fear. In every human life there are a series of shocking losses of previously enjoyed love relationships and a consequent hunger for ideal love objects of unfailing power and tenderness. It is nevertheless true that fear plays a greater part in religion than in science and art. There are two instinctive tendencies possible when the human being is faced from birth by a world of alien and often hostile objects. The individual may decide either to fight or to flee. The fighting tendency is stimulated by the emotion of anger. If this takes the extreme form of hate the object may be destroyed. If the feeling is moderate, the object may be mastered by an act of scientific understanding or may be moulded to serve an artistic purpose. It is clear that the self-expressive use of power involved in the fighting instinct is incompatible with the dependent attitude of worship. This can only arise when the instinct for flight

predominates owing to an excess of fear of the powers without or the impotence within. At the psychological level the flight tendency appears as repression and regression and as a desire to resume the state of parasitical dependence on a benevolent will. When dangers threaten mental peace or physical health, the instinct of fear counsels men to retreat from an intolerable situation. Viewed thus religion appears to be a psychical flight from a dark and threatening reality. The sensitive person who feels inwardly incapable of resisting the blows of fortune seeks escape from the real present in a religious world of phantasy or faith. Religion is indeed a safety valve for the strained mind. It is satisfaction for the deep emotional needs, that life often leaves unsatisfied. Hence not even absorption in scientific research makes a man immune from relapse into the infantile attitude of religious emotion. Indeed, the strain and weariness of intellectual pursuits prove too hard for many persons unless they have an adequate emotional outlet in human affection. Especially prone to religious relapse is old age with its weakening of power and its consequently increased longing for a peaceful and childish attitude to life. It is evident, then, that the old saying is so far correct that fear is indeed a stimulus to the making of gods and to their worship.

We have now to consider how the stimulus works. The fear of the dark present when it is intolerable, causes the life force to shrink back from reality with its awful problems and tasks. The psychic energy thus dammed up must find some outlet; the psyche imperatively demands a more restful activity. It therefore flows back towards the infantile way of life, and up towards a phantasy world of light and peace and love.

At this point history supports the psycho-analytic

theory. The apocalyptic literature of the Jews coincides with a period of extreme national misfortune and disillusionment. The darker appeared the present earthly life the brighter seemed the vision of the imminent kingdom and the more vivid grew men's faith in the King, the Saviour, the Son, the Father.

Thus are the gods born of the fear which drives men back from intellectual, erotic and moral manhood to a state of infantile dependence. Religion is consequently to be regarded as a phenomenon caused by regression of libido to primary narcissistic and parental fixation points.

The surrender of the affections and the will to a heavenly Parent, Guardian and Guide is an enormous barrier to free individual thought, self-determined social behaviour and creative work in science and art. All progress depends upon the loosening of the bonds of love and fear of the parents and their heavenly substitutes. The psychoanalysts find evidence that the libidinal fixations perpetuated by religious faith, in persons who strive vainly to get free, cause conflicts which issue either in perverse, neurotic or criminal conduct or as an incapacity for a normal and satisfying adult love life.

Religion supplies substitutes for the lost personal feeling of power, and for the lost protection and loving-kindness of the parents. The ritual of worship and the prohibitions of the moral ideal satisfy the tendencies which (as Freud saw) otherwise lead to obsessional neurotic symptom formation. Religion greatly intensifies the guilt feeling caused by the unconscious desires, and has elaborate means for periodical abreaction in confession and penance. Religion gives outlets for hate upon the strange false gods or devils and upon the unbelieving and therefore wicked men; but faith inhibits the development of libido beyond the family complexes

to a more adult relation to the universe and to human life. There is no doubt that religion is a means whereby vast masses of humanity attain a sublimation of instincts and a relative state of peace and sheltered security in which to do their work. The excessive indulgence in supernatural fantasies and ascetical self-depreciation inevitably reduces the power to make new, unprecedented attacks upon the alien forces of nature and the ills of society. A prayerful reliance on Providence is opposed to the attempt to use personal power against evil.

The religious myths, doctrines, and sacraments imply an unconscious transference of love energy from human to divine objects. Religion has a strong attractive force at times of suffering from the loss of earthly lovers and when there is no power to win satisfying libido outlets to take their place. Only the person who has the power to find enough libido satisfaction in love and work can dispense with the traditional symbols of religion and the mystic way of life. The religious apologist often admits that not all men are capable of his religious experience, but he generally ascribes the fact either to divine predestination, or to human ignorance and sin. The Psycho-analyst is satisfied with the theory that religious beliefs are produced by disused, displaced and projected libido. The person whose libido is free to find direct satisfaction in love and an indirect absorption in work and play lacks the energy needed for religious belief and mystical experience.

CHAPTER II

A PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF THE CHRISTIAN CREED¹

The Christian Creeds are rich in symbols of primitive unconscious desires. The Creeds therefore make a direct appeal to the unsatisfied and repressed persons who desire a refuge from the world as it is. They offer a comforting metaphysic for the mind and a strong support for the will, in other words, revelation and salvation. For the believer the Creeds contain a revelation of the God who made the world: for the Psychoanalyst the Creeds contain a revelation of the men who made the Creeds. The salvation promised to the believer is a psychological fact in the sense that the Creed saves a certain type of mind that has been well named "the sick soul" from fear, doubt and conflict. The healthy-minded have no need of such unalterable formulae of faith. Only the person who is freed from the infantile love-bonds, can sail on the ocean of thought; the erotically childish person must be anchored in the haven of faith. The Creeds help both the sinner who feels incapable by his own efforts of making moral and mental progress, and wishes to assume the infantile attitude to life, and the truth seeker who cannot live in a state of doubt, only guided by uncertain and changing hypotheses. The unsatisfied and hungry soul is called to a revival, a re-birth. A childlike acceptance is demanded as a condition of entrance into the realm of psychical rest in the mother Church. Complete dependence on the divine

¹ First published in the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 1921.

parents' will and mind excludes the desire for self-determination and independent speculation, and makes the will to believe in the mysteries and miracles of the Creed. In the paragraphs that follow we propose to show in detail some of the sources of unconscious satisfaction provided by the Nicene Creed.

"I believe in one God the Father"

The "one God" satisfies the narcissistic craving of the beloved Ego for an omnipotent projection for its own adoration. "The Father" exactly meets the need of those whose object-love is fixed in the family circle, and of those who, unable to find an earthly parent substitute for their libido, demand a heavenly sublimation. The paternal symbolism satisfies the desire of both sexes to escape from the primal bond to the mother by the substitution of a supreme father-imagó, and at the same time forms a defence against the masculine tendency to rebellious hatred of the earthly father.

When infantile self-love is overlaid by the higher stage of object-love, the child identifies itself with the beloved parent who is loved like a god. By this introjection of the parent into the self, the child can offer a willing obedience. To obey the parent is to obey oneself. This psychical stage in religion is represented by the joy and freedom felt by the child of God in a slavish service of his will. Early in the boy's life jealousy appears in regard to the mother and hatred of the father's prohibitive authority. The father being now an inadequate ideal, the boy may take as a substitute some real or imaginary hero who for a time can satisfy the emotional needs. With adolescence however comes the increased critical power to see that even heroes have feet of clay. If the love-life is still held by the parental fixations, new sub-

limations are now required, such as patriotic love of the Fatherland or religious love of the Father God.

In the case of Jesus there are traces of an attempt to throw off a strong mother-attachment; and this may be one cause of his conscious preoccupation with the fatherhood of God. The story of the child Jesus in the temple marks the change from entire parental obedience to a self-conscious spirit of revolt. Jesus is no longer satisfied to make Joseph his ideal (a hard task for a boy with a strong mother-fixation of love) and henceforth calls no man his father but substitutes the heavenly image. We may conjecture that Jesus, in spite of his conscious revolt against his family, never wholly outgrew his identification with his mother. This primal fixation (in Rank's sense) would account for his maternal attitude to his followers, his pacific, non-resistant avoidance of aggression, his desire for self-abasement in order to enjoy parental lifting up, and his deliberate choice of death on the cross as a means of achieving his highest aim¹. Jesus' attachment to his mother would act as a barrier against his love of any other woman and account for his failure to marry.

In the case of the girl, faith in God the Father is easier because more in line with the normal libido-trend than in the case of the boy. The girl who has sufficiently outgrown her mother-attachment seeks at puberty a satisfying father-substitute as a lover. In many cases she fails to find one, and therefore she is more inclined to be religious than the less repressed boy. If she lacks the interest and opportunity needed to displace her unused libido on to human ideals, she is apt to transfer her devotion to the Father in heaven.

¹ Rank *Das Trauma der Geburt* p. 131.

The impulses to the creation of a father God are not only the conscious feelings of inferiority, incapacity and the fear caused by hard times and the lack of earthly love, but chiefly the unconscious feeling that one's father is all too human, the desire for an ideal parent substitute as a refuge for the weary will and at the same time as a symbol of its narcissistic desire for omnipotence. The ultimate motives to belief in "the Father" are the repressed parental complexes that are satisfied by this belief, under conditions of strong repression of the wish for the mother imago to worship. By turning as a child to God, the oppressed psyche gains self-esteem, salvation from guilt and peace in place of restless uncertainty.

"Almighty"

God the Father in the Christian Creed is omnipotent and, as such, gives a substitutionary satisfaction to a universal desire of childhood. From the psychoanalytical point of view Ferenczi defines the life of man as a struggle to retain some part of his original feeling of omnipotence. Only the infant in the womb knows no interval between desire and satisfaction. After birth the baby struggles hard to avoid the painful feelings of light, pressure, hunger and cold, and to regain complete and immediate satisfaction of all its desires. Gradually its dawning sense of reality forbids it to maintain the illusion of almightiness: it has to make efforts to fulfill its desires and to adapt itself to external compulsion. Magic gestures and cries, as Ferenczi puts it, are used at first to regain its pleasure and to retain its power. But with the growth of a social sense, the charming illusion of omnipotence must be consciously renounced. This renunciation is not shared by the unconscious, which proceeds to find some symbolic satisfaction for its infantile

belief in free and almighty will. When the libido is progressive the self is identified with a powerful social or intellectual movement: when the libido is regressive the Ego is identified with a projected image of its unconscious desires, namely an omnipotent God. The soul that seems impotent in a heartless world of law takes the path of religious regression in order to regain a pleasant sense of power reflected from on high. Like Paul such a soul feels able to do all things through the divine power within. Only the liberal Christians who emphasise the duty of self-determination disguise their rebellion against the omnipotent authority by their belief that God is limited in his power.

"Incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary"

Rank has shown in *Das Trauma der Geburt* that the symbol of the virgin Mother and child satisfies the regressive desire of both sexes for a restoration of that closest attachment of the child to the parent before birth. The father's activity is associated with birth, with exclusion from that Paradise. The thought of human paternity would therefore destroy the satisfaction of this fantasy in the Madonna worship. The virginal conception also expresses the repressed feminine fantasy to receive a child from the father and satisfies the masculine unconscious wish to supplant the father and wish him away from the mother. Since the masculine and the feminine fantasies are discovered by analysis in the unconscious of both sexes, it is clear that all believers have an interest in the defence of this article as essential to their faith against those who would make belief in the Incarnation independent of the miraculous conception³.

³ This paragraph had to be rewritten since the publication by Rank of his discoveries about the Trauma of Birth.

Psychoanalysis gives a new and deeper significance to Dr. Wallis Budge's declaration that "man has always fashioned his gods in his own image, and he has always given to his gods wives and offspring." The mother-goddess satisfies the yearnings of humanity for the mother who gave protection, nourishment and love. Belief in the goddess called Mother Earth is a spontaneous production of the human mind at one stage of its development. Some of the most striking examples have been gathered together by Prof. A. Dieterich. In his book entitled *Mutter Erde* he explains the grief and horror felt by believers in the Earth Goddess when the dead were deprived of burial, for this meant their inability to return to the mother who could give them re-birth. A happy life after death seemed to depend on their entering into the womb of the earth in order that they might be born again. The aim of the mystery religions becomes clear in the light of this belief in a Mother Goddess. In order to be sure of immortality, the initiates were symbolically reborn in the sacrament in order that death might have no further power over them. This is well illustrated by the religion best known to ourselves. Christianity had to become a mystery religion in order to satisfy this keen desire for sacramental incorporation in the mother, and thereby conquer the Mithraic and other rival cults.

The first Christians inherited from Judaism the prophetic horror of admitting a feminine element into the conception of God. But as soon as Christianity spread among Greeks and Romans, the desire for a Mother Goddess had to be satisfied in creed and rite. The Church itself was regarded as the Bride of Christ and the Mother of the faithful. The Fathers speak of "*domina Mater*

Ecclesia". Some even said that Earth was the first Adam's mother just as Mary was the second Adam's mother. And the "Blessed Virgin" proved to be the most popular Christian Mother imago. Though Mary was already betrothed to Joseph, the Holy Ghost did not hesitate to overshadow her in order to beget Jesus. This divine action shows a disregard for human and legal scruples that is not unprecedented in the Old Testament stories of Yahweh and indeed is the mark of every product of the infantile unconscious fancy. Nevertheless Joseph is recorded to have felt an excusable impulse to cast off his lover for unfaithfulness when he knows that she is with child. And it is only by means of assurances and promises in dreams, that God is able to induce Joseph to become the foster-father of his Son and to marry Mary the Mother.

It may well be that the Virgin birth stories in the Gospel are in harmony with the fantasy of Jesus himself. From the strong heroic consciousness of divine Sonship it is only a step to the denial of the actual father. In an age when unconscious desires had free play in myths, the evangelist of Jesus the Son of God would almost inevitably express his Master's own fantasy in the form of a miraculous conception by a divine Father. The myth maker would unconsciously identify himself with Jesus in the heroic revolt against the father implied by a virgin birth.

The legend of the virginal conception of Mary by the power of the Holy Ghost is, however, perhaps not the first attempt to symbolise faith in the divine origin of Jesus, but rather a secondary element due to Greek influence. The earliest Gospel (St. Mark) ignores the story and dates the divinity of Jesus from the day of his baptism. The Holy Ghost which descended into Jesus

was regarded by some Jewish Christians as his mother. For the "spirit" in Hebrew is feminine, and the role played by the Spirit in the creation Myth in Genesis is that of the Earth Mother. The Spirit "brooded" on the waters of chaos or the world egg like a mother bird, in order to call forth the creative activity of the male God Yahweh. Indeed, as Hannay has pointed out, the very words of the story imply a feminine aspect of the divinity. God created man in his own image, male and female created he them". In the Aramaic Gospel used by the Ebionites Jesus even speaks of "my mother the Holy Ghost". For some the Spirit symbolised Yahweh's wife; for others it was the creative power which impregnated the mother Goddess of chaos. The Jewish followers of Jesus could therefore naturally picture the Messiah as born when he issued forth from the waters of baptism and received breath from the spirit of God. The non-Jewish Christians unconsciously saw in the holy Spirit at the Baptism the phallus of the Mysteries. Dieterich reminds us of the early baptismal rite in which the candle is thrice dipped into the water of the font in order to fecundate this symbol of the womb from which the candidate for baptism was to be reborn like the Christ⁴.

"One Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God"

A long step towards the deification of Jesus was taken by the first person who dated the divine Sonship of Jesus from his birth and applied to Jesus the prophecy of Isaiah about a young woman as if it implied conception without a human father. The birth legends inserted in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke contain a further satisfaction of unconscious desires by assimilating the Christ

⁴ The reader can now be referred to Ernest Jones' *Essays in applied Psycho-Analysis*.

Myth to the widespread Myth of the hero's birth. There is the double parentage, the humble carpenter foster-father and the Almighty God Father. The Messianic hero is cradled as an outcast in a food box (just as Moses was in a basket) and is persecuted by an evil King. Herod represents the father on to whom the unconscious projects its childish feeling of filial hate. Otto Rank reminds us in his book on "The Myth of the Birth of the Hero" (p. 51) that "the birth history of Christ is said to have the greatest resemblance to the royal Egyptian Myth over five thousand years old, which relates the birth of Amenophis III. Here again occurs the divine prophecy of a birth of a son to the waiting queen; her fertilization by the breath of heavenly fire; the divine cows, which nurse the newborn child; the homage of the kings, and so forth."

Jesus was henceforth no mere man adopted to be the Messiah. But the Virgin birth story does not satisfy the mystical author of the fourth Gospel. He exalts Jesus still further from time into eternity. He pictures Jesus as God from the beginning and as man at an appropriate moment in history. Both the Virgin Birth and the Baptism stories are therefore omitted from the fourth Gospel. In their place we find a metaphysical theory of the Word who set up a temporary tent of flesh amongst men and then returned to his eternal glory with an added glamour. By this symbolism the mystic tendency to regression from the world of time and space is finally satisfied.

"Very God" and "Was made Man"

Many of the later Christian controversies arise from the attempt to express in one symbol the conflicting emotions towards the father felt by the child i. e. depen-

dence, inferiority in age and power as a son and at the same time equality as rival. If the sonship of the second person of the Trinity was emphasised his Godhead was lost: when his equality was recognised the divine unity was split by the rival son-God. By the victory of the Logos doctrine over Arianism, God the Son finally won the central place in orthodox Christian faith and practise. The Father sank into the background and the Son—the representative of man's inordinate ambition—became the centre of the cultus.

The hero is ever unconsciously identified with his worshipper. Hence Christo-centric religion is in harmony with typical unconscious needs. The believer feels at home as a member of the holy family of God. The Holy Trinity is ever in the mental background and God himself is felt to be a society of three perfect lovers. The Father unobtrusively protects and guides his children from heaven; the motherly love of the Holy Spirit is ever within their soul; and the example of the heroic Son is ever before their eyes as an example for imitation. If the believer finds this family symbolism too difficult and abstract, he can worship the more concrete Trinity of Joseph, Jesus and Mary. Only the infantile type of Christian desires to think chiefly of dependence on the parental will; the more virile type wants to be at one with the heroic Saviour Son. Hence the normal Christian experience has ever been a communion with Christ. And the greatest sense of power and joy has been secured by the mystical feeling of being one with him, copying his deeds, becoming sons of God, sitting on thrones and judging ordinary mortals and being judged of none. This mystic union with Christ is the conscious symbolism of the Eucharist which is regarded as the supreme act of worship. The unconscious satisfaction gained in this

rite is primitive and sexual. In this mystery rite Jesus is the Phallic Saviour. The Lord must enter into the soul his bride in order that the communicant may have the incorruptible seed of immortality within. At times the sexual meaning of the rite even comes to expression in the New Testament. The believer who is born of God the Epistle of St. John declared, cannot sin because God's seed is in him. The full joy of Holy Communion thus depends on a belief in the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament—and so the Church naturally fought against any who denied the coming of this precious medicine of immortality from the very body of Christ in his Mass. The grace received in the Holy Communion is a symbolic satisfaction of repressed love energy; and the symbolism of bread and wine serves to hide from consciousness the real nature of the rite. But Christ like every other love object is ultimately a substitute for the mother. Therefore oral assimilation of Christ in the Eucharist is a substitute for the food received from the mother's breast.

"He suffered"

As a rule the person who gets pleasure from suffering is able to enjoy it in others as well as in himself. In other words, strong masochism and sadism occur at different levels of the same soul. This co-existence of opposed emotions in the dissociated parts of one self is clearly seen in Jesus. Jesus has a strong tendency to enjoy suffering. Self-sacrifice was for him part of the good news! It was indeed only a means to the desired end—death as a way to life; but for Jesus it is the only way. Martyrdom is therefore to be sought by all who will to follow the Christ. The weary, heavy laden, sufferers ever call forth the sympathetic compassion of

Jesus and receive his blessing as an encouragement to continue with patience to the end. The sadism of Jesus appears in his belief about the suffering of sinners. In order to hide the inconsistency from his consciousness Jesus projects upon the Father his unconscious impulse to enjoy the torture of his enemies.

"Was crucified also for us"

"One Baptism for the remission of Sins"

In the ambivalent attitude of the son to his father we also gain a new insight into the feeling of guilt and the desire for atonement with an offended God. We are also prepared to find both love and hate for the heavenly Father. If we venture to follow Freud in his fascinating parallel (see Totem and Taboo) between racial and individual development, we may suppose that in primitive society sons, like the modern infant, took little pains to conceal the jealous hate felt towards the tyrannical and repressive father. It is even possible that the young males actually agreed to kill the father when he too rigidly excluded his sons from the women of the clan. But in that case, a feeling of guilt would arise from their love and respect thus set at naught. In more civilised times parricide is impossible and even thoughts of hate must be sternly repressed after infancy. But the desire for atonement is still strong. God is offended by man's sin. Only by a sacrifice can the children of wrath wipe away their guilty stains, and only by a magical rite such as Baptism can the fancied stains be removed by identification with Christ. For the Christian, atonement no longer implies the killing of the Totem father. It rather requires the death of the sacrificial son. Jesus' masochistic feeling found an easy outlet here. He would be the suffering Son who would gain forgiveness for his brother

men by offering himself as a sacrifice to the Father. When Jesus felt this desire clearly he seems to have deliberately provoked his enemies to kill him by entry into Jerusalem and by his rough handling of the vested interests in the Temple.

The apologists are right in claiming the universal appeal of the cross to the child-like mind. The passion and Crucifixion of Jesus satisfy equally the sadistic and masochistic trends. Those who love to dwell in devotion upon the tortures of Christ can regard them either subjectively as being suffered by Jesus with whom they identify themselves, or objectively as seen to be inflicted on the victim. In either case the meditations of Holy Week must ever appeal to the unconscious which thus indulges its desires because it has failed to find a socially useful sublimation of primitive libido, or a satisfactory abreaction of its guilt.

"On the third day He rose again"

Jesus himself expected his sacrifice to be a mere means to his exaltation. For him the martyr's death was no tragic end to his being. And his expectation has been in a manner fulfilled. Jesus has risen far above all heavens, even above the Father himself, as the very centre of the new cult. Paul voices the normal Christian feeling when he declares that for him "to live is Christ, and to die is gain" because death means closer fellowship with Christ. Jesus, not the Father, is eaten in the Mass; at the name of Jesus only do the faithful bow and cross themselves. The religion is *Christianity* and the Liberals have tried in vain to substitute for the orthodox faith in Christ as God their own faith in the Father of Christ as the essence of the Creed.

"He shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead."

Jesus is obsessed by the idea of suffering. He welcomes it for himself and his friends as an expression of love, for his enemies as an expression of his hatred for all who oppose him and his good news. God shall not let the Pharisees escape the suffering which Jesus and his disciples undergo, but in Hell it shall be of no avail. The sinner shall be judged by the help of Jesus and his apostles and condemned to a final exclusion from heaven. No doubt Jesus was quite unconscious of the hate which crept into his teaching and counterbalanced his strong insistence on non-resisting love.

"The Resurrection of the Dead and the Life of the World to come."

Jesus' conscious will to die was probably strengthened by an unconscious impulse to suicide. Yet even this abnormal form of self-sacrifice is not a wish for final extinction, and is therefore only in apparent opposition to the desire embodied in the above clauses in the Creed. Death is a way of escape from insuperable external obstacles and internal conflicts. Under the rationalisation and moralisation about the need for a ransom and a sacrifice lies the unconscious desire to return to oblivion in the mother in order to be re-born from the maternal womb. A mere regression to childhood or adolescence would not produce the desired state of unimpeded passivity and the immediate satisfaction of all impulses, associated only with the intra-uterine condition.

It was only the conscious reason of Nicodemus that supposed his re-birth an impossibility. The mystical author of the fourth Gospel shared St. Paul's belief that he could die with Christ in order to be born again and finally overcome the traumatic result of earthly birth.

The resurrection becomes a mystical regeneration for all who will to reverse their affective and intellectual life in the direction of childhood. The regression implied in the Christian Creed stops short of the desire for the lap of luxury in Nirvana. The Christian feels the same desire to be swallowed in the maternal waters of death, but expects in addition a new and more satisfying bodily life.

Dr. Ernest Jones remarks that the thoughts of birth and death lie inseparably close together in the unconscious. Hence the idea of immortality is an ever recurring palliative offered by religion to sorrowing humanity under the domination of its infantile complexes. "Neither the child's mind nor the adult unconscious can apprehend the idea of personal annihilation" (Papers on Psycho-Analysis, p. 661). The conscious horror of incest has driven the mother goddess from the Christian Creed, but she is implied in the belief in immortality. Since the infantile unconscious by no means shares the moral dread of incest and death, the desire to think the father away persists in the Oedipus complex. And with the exception of atheism, as Rank remarks, the belief in death as the (maternal) entrance to life is the most satisfying unconscious denial of the father.

The Christian Creeds, we conclude, are compromise formations. By their appeal to unconscious needs they have long escaped the moral and rational criticism of progressive intelligence. The result of the insight given by psychoanalytic study of the Creeds will hasten what Dr. Ernest Jones terms the "unmasking" of their symbols and the substitution of more adequate embodiments of human ideals.

CHAPTER III

THE INFLUENCE OF CREATIVE DESIRE UPON THE ARGUMENT FOR IMMORTALITY¹

Human curiosity first serves the self-centered impulse to seek objects which cause pleasure and to avoid objects which threaten pain. In proportion to the growth of ethical repressions of crude impulse and cultural sublimations of infantile desire, curiosity has been diverted to problems in the external world. Civilization has involved a severe limitation of the open play of fantasy and the direct satisfaction of desire. Only by means of elaborate religious, artistic, and scientific disguises can the primitive desires escape. Indeed the aim of scientists is to discover fact even when fact contradicts the deepest desire.

Since many precious wishes have been hidden below consciousness, it is clear that the psychological study of the unconscious inevitably arouses great affective opposition. This is an obvious factor in some of the adverse criticisms of Freudian theories. In some cases the unconscious opposition is strong enough to prevent the severe renunciation of pleasure involved in accepting the new hypotheses. In other cases the admission of unwelcome facts has to struggle against the rationalizations and moralizations of primitive impulses and self-centered desire. The struggle is strongly marked in the artistic temperament which delights in new symbolic rep-

¹First published in *The American Journal of Psychology*—1922.

representations of unconscious desires and in imaginary association of pre-conscious impressions. The creative artist has a strong will to live which is symbolized by belief in survival of death. Moreover the artist tends to be conscious of the poverty of his expressions in comparison with the wealth of his impressions. He will therefore be almost overwhelmed by the smallness of his productions when he learns that all his previous experiences have been impressed and preserved in his subconscious mind.

Such, it would appear, is the feeling of M. Maeterlinck, who has recently published his views about the preservation of impressions in what he terms the subconscious mind. The poet accepts the facts which he uses as a new way of rationalizing the belief in survival which satisfies his deepest desires. The weight of these desires may be estimated by their power to obscure the poet's critical judgment on matters of fact. M. Maeterlinck's reason for belief in survival is similar to the argument based on the premises that justice is supreme and that an enormous amount of conscious ability is destroyed by death before it is able to do its good work for the world. M. Maeterlinck modifies this argument by putting his emphasis on the waste of unconscious mental energy, and by substituting natural economy for divine justice. The poet as psychologist knows that the conscious waste of material represents but a small part of the vast mass of unused subconscious material in even the longest human life.

M. Maeterlinck has recently argued that man's unconscious soul survives his conscious and bodily death. His argument appears to rest on two premisses—a fact about the extent of man's wasted unconscious life, and a belief about the nature of organic life in general. The fact is

proved by a very large number of observations made by hypnotists and psychoanalysts: and it is this. A countless number of sensations are preserved at unconscious levels of the mind, either in temporal succession or in more elaborately associated groups. The unconscious part of the psyche is therefore enormously larger than the conscious organ of perception and memory. From the immense and ever increasing unconscious accumulation there rise to consciousness only a few fragments, as memories, fantasies, jokes, automatisms, intuitions or symbolic images. M. Maeterlinck stands in wonder before the store of psychic material revealed by recent research. With his vivid imagination the poet pictures the boundless possibilities for mental creation that are involved. His aesthetic conscience refuses to contemplate the final loss of so great a hidden treasure. Even the most productive genius cannot use every impression that has sunk into forgetfulness for lack of the appropriate stimulus for its recollection and use. Therefore, argues M. Maeterlinck, the retention of so many impressions is a useless mental process under the conditions of bodily life on earth.

At this point the poet seems to have been carried away by his emotional reaction to the new knowledge, and to have made an exaggerated statement about the uselessness of subconscious impressions. Certainly not every impression returns through the normal memory of even the oldest and busiest thinker. But the majority of unconscious impressions are at any time available for conscious use if required. The only exceptions are a few unpleasant or disgusting impressions which have been so deeply pressed into the unconscious that neither they nor their associated impressions can be recalled by memory. The unemployment of such desirable images, how-

ever, is surely no loss which calls for a compensatory opportunity in a future life. Of the vast majority of impressed experiences that lie within the limits of conscious recall, it is possible that any one may become a valuable memory in order to serve some individual or social purpose—to save a life, to compose a poem, to make a joke, to construct a theory or a machine. Any selective process in the unconscious might fail to include and preserve ideas or images that could be used again to preserve or enrich the personal and the collective life. Nature is a bountiful provider. No expenditure is extravagant if only it is directly or indirectly a means to the preservation and transmission of life. Millions of seeds are produced in order that a small minority may survive. It is better that countless germs should perish than that one should be lacking when required to subserve the instinct for the preservation of the species. Likewise it is worth M. Maeterlinck's keeping a "sub-conscious" packed full of idle words and images if, by a stroke of genius, some few may rise to conscious life as the elements of a poem or a play.

We are now in a position to estimate the validity of M. Maeterlinck's second premiss, which he asserts as if it were an undisputed scientific law. "It is admitted that Nature does nothing that is useless." This unqualified negative proposition is certainly not admitted by the present writer. There spring to his mind pictures of many monstrous products of Nature—useless additional limbs, innate morbid impulsive tendencies and instinctive disharmonies which have no value for the organism or the species as a whole. No doubt such entirely useless structures and modes of behaviour are exceptions. The majority of organs and functions in Nature have at one time some degree of usefulness to the species. The ap-

pendix was not always a dangerous relic. And the tendency of organisms to produce a sudden variation of form or instinct usually promotes survival though it occasionally makes a self-destroying monster.

M. Maeterlinck's argument would be stronger if he could show that all the unconscious impressions are useless for earthly life. But he knows the loss to be only partial—thanks to memory and creative intuition. Now if many seeds are wasted in order that a few may be used, the natural inference of a mind unbiased by unconscious desire would be that a host of unconscious impressions may be held in readiness to form a useful thought or a beautiful deed. M. Maeterlinck's premiss is so inaccurate as to invalidate his argument from the supposed uselessness of the unconscious impressions that a strictly utilitarian nature must provide another sphere of usefulness for the unconscious after death. Moreover, the usefulness of an unconscious impression is not wholly dependent upon its regaining consciousness. The psycho-analytical study of behaviour has made it probable that unconscious impressions when they become the images of desire indirectly play an important determining part in every act of judgment, choice, creation, and appreciation. The capability for attention, no doubt, strictly limits the recall of images; but M. Bergson showed forgetfulness to be useful for practical life. If memory were complete, choice and action would have an impossible task.

The biologist might be satisfied to have shown the weakness of M. Maeterlinck's argument. The psychologist's interest is by no means exhausted till he has gone a step further and explained the use of so weak an argument by so strong a mind. M. Maeterlinck is indeed only one instance of the paradox that eminent men often give illogical reasons for their belief in immortality. We must therefore generalise our enquiry and ask what it is

that leads even men of genius to overlook the inadequacy of their reasons for this particular belief. The answer is given by the psychoanalysts, who have proved that men's reasons for belief in survival are unconsciously influenced by the desires they imperfectly conceal. The basic motives for the refusal to contemplate the annihilation of the ego are neither logical nor moral. The fact is, as Dr. Ernest Jones declares, that "in the unconscious every one believes in the omnipotence of his thoughts, in the irresistibility of his charms and in the immortality of his soul." The unconscious is not concerned with moral and metaphysical reasons for survival. The unconscious feels the primitive will to live. Death has no meaning for this level of the psyche, which refuses to think of the extinction of itself and of the objects to whom its love and interests have been transferred. In the unconscious dream-thoughts men appear to be alive many years after their death; time is abolished and the ego only "dies" or disappears in order to be reborn. The conscious arguments are therefore after-thoughts or rationalizations of the primitive wishes. The great unconscious weight of lowly psycho-biological desires accounts for the acceptance of many an argument, that, without this support, would be spurned by all intelligent men. Likewise the will to believe in survival without proof or *quia impossible* is due to the unbounded egoism of the unconscious mind. Religious faith in the eternal moral values of the soul has its roots in the supreme worth of the unconscious ego in its own estimation; and belief in immortal life is a barrier against the fearful thought of wasted powers—powers which feel immense and are checked and limited by an indifferent world. A rationalistic psychology has supposed that the original cause of belief in immortality was the false reasoning of primitive man who believed he saw his dead friends alive in the world of his dreams.

The new psychology, which seeks for wishes beneath thoughts, declares that the savage saw his dead living in dreams because he could not conceive the intolerably unpleasant thought of the annihilation of those who ministered to the pleasure of his beloved and immortal self. The non-existence of time for the unconscious mind is proved by the fact that for many years after their death some parents continue to exercise a repressive and harmful influence over their family who only consciously accept the fact of their freedom, and show their bondage and fear in the dream products of their unconscious life. An expression of the adult's unconscious refusal to face the fact of death sometimes openly appears upon the lips of the child. The following conversation reported by Dr. Jung makes this clear.

Anna, aged three, asks: "Grandmamma, why have you such faded eyes?"

Grandmamma: "Because I am old now."

Anna: "But that means that you will be young again."

Grandmamma: "No, I shall get older and older, you know, and then I shall die."

Anna: "Yes, and then?"

Grandmamma: "Then I shall be an angel."

Anna: "And then will you become a little child again?"

In night-dreams and to some extent in day dreams is realized the desire of the self-centered psyche for a free and endless exercise of its powers in a perfect world. In metaphysical opinions and religious hopes the unconscious wishes have to compromise with the scientific interest in external reality. In men of poetical imagination like M. Maeterlinck, we see the fight of self-love for dominance, and the consequent imperfect rationalization of unconscious desire. M. Maeterlinck, we conclude, is led to use bad reasons in support of his belief in immortality because this belief is a necessary symbol of his unconscious desires, which dominate the thoughts in his conscious creed.

CHAPTER IV

EPILEPTIC TRAITS IN PAUL OF TARSUS¹

The psychoanalytic study of Paul's career has confirmed the Nietzschean estimate of the morbid elements in the Apostle's character and creed. Pfister, for example, holds Paul's conversion to be a neurotic manifestation, and Paul's new theology to be a reaction-formation against his repressed desires.² The Apostle felt like a new man when Christ saved him from his obsessive ceremonialism and morbid scrupulosity. After his conversion Paul's Hebrew ideas were but cast into a Christian mould. Pfister's study of many phantasies of hate, followed by feelings of reconciliation, prepared him to find in Paul the Christian new affects about old ideas rather than a radical change of belief. Paul the Pharisee was full of morbid anxiety, which he later attributed to unsatisfied desire; and the Mosaic rules which formed a defense against the desires of his "flesh" were at the same time a cause of perpetual doubt and wretchedness. Before his conversion Paul consciously hated Jesus, who put the freedom of love in place of the bondage of law. Unconsciously Paul felt attracted to the preacher of divine love, who opened a way for the sublimation of Paul's repressed desires. At the moment of conversion the unconscious forces broke through the defenses of his anxious scrupulosity and compulsive ritualism. Henceforth his hatred for Christ disappears and is replaced by

¹ Reprinted from *The Psychoanalytical Review*, Vol. IX., No. 1, January, 1922.

² *The Psychoanalytic Method*, p. 460.

a passionate love; and his fear of God's wrath becomes a feeling of reconciliation with the Father through identification with the Son.

Paul's Christian letters are written in a loose and rambling style that indicates quick changes of attention and dominance of emotion over thought. The Epistles show his legalism, rabbinical pedantry, and fanatical narrowness of view to have been but little influenced by his affective crisis. The neuropathic temperament of Paul is obvious in his words and deeds. Though the records of his life are too scanty for a certain diagnosis of his bodily symptoms and attacks, the New Testament picture of Paul contains features which certainly mark a neuropathic, and probably indicate an epileptic character.

The strength of Paul's infantile family complexes can be inferred from his yearning to be reconciled with God, his father substitute. Paul's intense feeling of guilt and fear of divine wrath probably sprang from a strongly developed Œdipus complex. The Apostle's quick changes of mood, exhibitionistic vanity, obstinate hate, and ascetic distaste for heterosexual love are evidence of the infantile libidinous and egotistic impulses that form the basis of the psychoneuroses and epilepsy.

The epileptic character is marked by a great desire for recognition and commendation and by the will to dominate. According to Dr. L. Pierce Clark, hyper-sensitivity, ego-centricity, and introversion are usually accompanied by emotional poverty. The over-developed ego impulse often leads to delusions of persecution and injury. Taciturnity alternates with friendliness; and the exaggerated importance of all that is done leads the epileptic to a preoccupation with trifles. Quick changes of mood occur with irritability and sudden attacks of rage. Dr. Ernest Jones emphasizes the epileptic's tendency to great

conservatism, rigidity of opinion, poverty of ideas, limited vocabulary, and a concentric narrowing field of interest. When once an idea is grasped it is held and pedantically elaborated in great detail by the use of stilted and hackneyed phrases. There is also intense sensitiveness about bodily health or appearance. All the partial sex impulses of childhood are active, especially sado-masochism; and the fanatical religiosity of these persons is marked by a mawkish dependence upon the object of their faith.

The reader who is familiar with the New Testament records of the words and deeds of Paul will see in them many examples of the morbid type of character that has just been sketched. The brief record in the Acts shows the intensity of Paul's Jewish and Christian fanaticism, his vanity which he rationalizes as a magnification of his office, his irritability with his fellow workers, and his violent emotional storms. Paul seems to have been unable to form a lasting association with any of his fellow missionaries except Timothy, who was mild and youthful, and Luke, whose medical knowledge was useful, and whose character appears to be that of a passive homosexual. Not only did Paul quarrel with the strong-willed Mark and Barnabas, but when in distress complained that all his friends had deserted him but Luke. After indulging in the cruel persecution of Christians, Paul suddenly directed his love to Christ, and his hate to all who opposed themselves to Paul's new passionate faith. The uncontrollable rage of Paul, displaced, not repressed by his love of Christ, appeared when Elimas the sorcerer opposed his desire to make an important convert in the person of Sergius Paulus, the Roman Governor. It is possible to doubt the record of Paul's ability to strike his adversary blind; it is impossible to doubt his desire for

such an evident expression of his hate and power. When the High Priest struck Paul on the mouth, Paul did not hesitate to revile him as a whited wall who should be smitten by God. On a later occasion, after making a militant and inflammatory speech, Paul quietly submitted to the beating of the magistrate's men before he was put into jail. Next day, when the magistrate sent the men to release Paul, his humble desire for self-sacrifice was replaced by an assertion of power and dignity and a desire to humiliate his enemies by compelling the magistrates to come to the jail in order to set him free.

The tone of Paul's address to the Ephesians recorded in the Acts is in harmony with his other epistles. Paul emphasized his humility and his trials, and assured his readers that he was pure from the blood of all men. His morbid anxiety in this matter had previously appeared when he shook his clothes in the presence of some hostile Jews, saying, "I am clean." Paul's belief in the importance of his mission was so intense that on one occasion he did not scruple to save himself from an angry crowd of Pharisees and Sadducees by proclaiming himself a Pharisee and thus dividing his enemies. On the night following this successful subterfuge Paul heard the voice of God assuring him that he must bear witness to Christ in Rome. If Paul's self-esteem had been hurt by his conduct on that day, this cheering proof of the divine favor was a natural projection of his unconscious desire. Paul had previously expressed his wish to visit Rome; by the process of rationalization he now gained divine sanction for the voyage. When disaster threatened the ship on the journey to Rome, Paul heard the voice of his vanity in the form of an assurance that for his sake all the crew should be saved from death.

There are several epistles that are generally ascribed to

Paul, at least in the sense that they probably reflect his emotional reactions to his environment. It is, at any rate, clear that the words of the epistles express the same type of man as Paul appears to be in the Acts of the Apostles.

The first Epistle to the Thessalonians opens on a note of vanity and self-justification. Paul does not hesitate to put himself before Christ when he urges his readers that they "become followers of us and of the Lord." Here, as usual, the apostle speaks at length of his holy life, his sufferings, and his refusal to receive money at their hands. The apostle's tenderness to his children in the Lord is balanced by stern declarations of God's wrath against those who oppose Paul's work. From his maternal solicitude for his friends Paul suddenly turns to his enemies in anger and projects upon God his own wrathful will for their death. Paul's customary emphasis on sexual transgressions in his warnings against sin appears in this epistle.

The second Epistle to the Thessalonians contemplates with fanatical satisfaction the eternal destruction of the sinners who for disobedience fall beneath the righteous anger of God. Against this dark background, salvation is regarded as a happy release from the Father's wrath. After the usual self-justification and refusal to receive their money, Paul commands his followers to withdraw from the company of all who have a different standard of belief and conduct.

In the Epistle to the Galatians, Paul boasts that his Gospel has come to him not from men, but direct from God. Armed with divine authority, the apostle proceeds to condemn all "the accursed" preachers of another Gospel. Paul desires to feel quite free from the law which had caused him such morbid anxiety and guilt. He there-

fore rationalizes his desire by fantastic arguments to prove that the law can not make men righteous, since it lacks Christ's power to deliver them from the curse and bondage of sin. To his converts he speaks tenderly as to his little children "of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you."

The first Epistle to the Corinthians sets forth the "foolishness" of the Gospel mystery, for which Paul is glad to renounce all worldly thought, and to picture himself as the offscouring of the world and a naked spectacle in the theatre, buffeted in the sight of angels and men. Social intercourse with pagan sinners is forbidden on the ground that sexual sins are incompatible with the pure offering of body and soul to Christ. Indeed, the Christians are advised to imitate, if possible, Paul's complete abstinence from sexual intercourse except when desire disturbs the mental peace. In view of the end of the world, Paul frankly suggests that the useless pain of childbirth is best avoided. Marriage also involves a splitting of the libidinous forces. The single man gives all his love to God; the married man loves both God and his wife.

The morbid self-centeredness of Paul appears in his forced interpretations of Old Testament texts. He will not allow that God cared for oxen when He forbade men to muzzle them in the threshing floor: the whole passage was written for the sake of its application to Paul and his friends! The egoism of the apostle is further expressed in his arguments that Christ must be risen from the dead, because otherwise Paul's preaching would be meaningless and vain; and this is an intolerable thought. Paul speaks of his ascetic practices as if they were products of the fear of losing his eternal reward. Evidently Paul's buffetings of his body were obsessional acts due

to the anxiety born of intolerable unconscious desires. Paul's desire to inflict pain on himself is balanced by his desire to inflict pain on an incestuous member of the Church. Out of a primitive desire for the destruction of the sinner's flesh, Paul's conscience makes a moral will for the chastisement of the sinner's soul. The fear of Paul's own unconscious Œdipus complex may have added fuel to the fire of his wrath against this particular sin.

The letters included in the second Epistle to the Corinthians show the contradictory affects roused by attacks upon Paul's authority and teaching. The epistle opens with an emphatic statement about his tribulation. Next comes an outburst of rejoicing at his own "simplicity" and "godly sincerity" of life. An earlier visit to the Church would have caused him pain; his delay is therefore justified. Paul's attitude toward the sinners shows at one time a threat of severity, and at another a plea in mitigation of their punishment. Paul returns to the subject of his afflictions, which appear to him entirely outweighed by the "eternal weight of glory" they will bring. He therefore returns to the thought of his sorrows, which mean a dying with Christ in order that he may share the compensating advantages of life with him in heaven.

Paul repeats his plea for holiness, in the sense of absence of defilement, and recommends separation from infidels as the best way to cleanse the flesh and spirit. He then denies the charge that he has wronged and corrupted men. He is sensitive to the reproach that his bodily presence is weak, and he frankly admits it by boasting about a long series of perils and glorious deeds that mark him as equal to any other apostle. For a moment Paul feels the expediency of ending his self-glorification, but in the next sentence he proceeds to tell

of his visions and revelations of the Lord. He knows a man (himself it would appear) who was caught up to the third heaven, whether in or out of the body he could not tell, and heard unspeakable words. Indeed, the revelations were so abundant that they threatened to exalt him above measure. Hence his disease appeared to him as a valuable safeguard to his character. By a natural association there now arises again the thought of his many distresses. Lest these should appear to be a sign of reprobation, Paul lays emphasis on his apostolic authority and gifts, saying that he feels compelled to this self-glorification by the conduct of the Corinthian Christians, whose forgiveness he sarcastically asks for his refusal to live at their expense—apparently a unique distinction among the apostles. Again his tone changes from sarcasm to the bitterness of tender and unrequited parental love. This again gives place (probably in the fragment of a separate letter) at the end of the Epistle, to a threat to visit the Church in a spirit of unsparing condemnation of the wicked.

In the Epistle to the Romans, Paul expresses his feeling of slavish obedience towards God; and asserts his authority towards men and his fatherly desire to see the fruit of his spiritual gifts. Like a mother he anticipates the pleasure he will receive from his children in the Lord. At the beginning of the letter Paul argues from the ease with which one can know God in nature, that all idolaters, being without excuse, are justly made perverts by the angry God. At the end of the letter Paul admits that God's ways are unsearchable, and regards this as a reason for an attitude of fear and worship. Long arguments about the Old Testament laws are employed to win converts to Christianity and to justify his own position. His peace of mind had been won by his escape from the ever-

present thought of the divine wrath and by freedom from the obsessive conflict of his flesh with the law's demands. In baptism Paul died to the law and entered into a mystical marriage as the bride of Christ in God's kingdom. Paul commends an attitude of passive endurance of every pain and injury without retaliation or vengeance because the end of all suffering is near. The tendency of Paul to the elaboration of a few ideas and to the constant repetition of trite phrases (*e.g.*, justification by faith) is specially evident in this Epistle.

In the Epistle to the Philippians the imminence of death increases Paul's fear lest his adversaries should spoil his missionary work. Paul's attitude to other Christians is marked by a sweeping accusation of self-seeking; his attitude towards God is marked by a masochistic doubt of his own salvation. As an over-compensation against fear, Paul in prison fetters speaks as if he were omnipotent through the power of Christ, and entirely content. Paul has no need of the gifts of the Church, yet he welcomes them because they have the value of a sacrifice to God.

It is manifest that the altruism of Paul had to struggle against a mass of infantile egoism by which it was limited and occasionally out-weighed, and that his libido was largely fixed in the pregenital stage of sadistic hate against all opponents of his self-will, and masochistic self-portrayal as the filth of the world, whose most precious gifts are as dung to be given up in order to win Christ. Paul also showed the anal erotic traits of obstinacy, dislike of confusion, and love of order. The rest of his libido seems to have advanced to exhibitionism, and to a homosexuality that was probably the outcome of an over-stimulated Œdipus complex which barred the way to heterosexual love. The passive devotion of Paul,

who felt himself to be the slave of Christ, is in harmony with the conduct of many male epileptics who (as Maeder remarks in the *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen*) are not totally inverted and yet behave just like women, and especially like maid-servants. The strength of Paul's homosexual component appears in his identification with Christ which enabled him to write that to him "to live is Christ" with whom he had suffered, died, and risen again. In moments of trance Paul heard unspeakable words from the Beloved and also received visions and revelations for the benefit of the Church. The Epistle to the Colossians, if Pauline, marks the apostle's growing preoccupation with the Christ whose figure is adorned with new glories and is expanded until it fills all things in heaven and earth.

The psychopathic temperament of Paul as expressed in his writings has provided a type of Christianity that is attractive to the repressed, undeveloped, and guilt-laden soul. The neurotic and fanatic Christians of every age have supported their morbid desires by reasons drawn from his life and letters. This they have been able to do because they regarded Paul with uncritical emotion as a saint. The psychoanalytical study of Paul has a practical value inasmuch as it prevents the unconscious misuse of his authority and, by isolating the morbid elements of his nature, makes possible a fair appreciation of his life and character. It is evident that the great attractiveness of Paul depends not only upon his strength—the heroic emotions and adventurous deeds—but also upon his weakness—the morbid and infantile impulses which dominated his life.

CHAPTER V

MYSTICAL ECSTASY AND HYSTERICAL DREAM-STATES¹

The mystics are the source and stay of all religions. The psycho-analytical study of mysticism is therefore an important aid to an understanding of the normal and the morbid religious experience. The mystic ecstasy manifests in an extreme form the unconscious forces that lie behind all religious life. The strange form and the enormous extent of the mystical writings are a great obstacle to the non-mystical investigator. It is therefore a matter for gratitude that this work has been undertaken by a competent psychologist who has published his results for all to use. I refer to the valuable "Essai sur l'Introversion Mystique, Etude Psychologique de Pseudo-Denys L'Areopagite et de quelques autres Cas de Mysticisme" by Ferdinand Morel, doctor in philosophy of Geneva University. After briefly summarizing Dr. Morel's conclusions I propose to show how his psycho-analytic theory of mysticism is supported by the psycho-analytic practice of Dr. Abraham and others.

Under the symbolic differences of eastern and western mystics Dr. Morel finds a universal tendency to introversion and regression. Like the Indian mystics, Pseudo-Dionysius, for example, has in an extreme form the desire for peaceful phantasy and escape from reality. The spiritual world is valued by this typical speculative mystic according to the degree of introversion attained.

¹First published in the Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 1920.

Men are on the lowest level. Angels are a stage higher than men, but they still show some interest in human affairs. After angels come celestial beings rising step by step till, at the top, the thrones are filled with ecstatic ardor for God. Dr. Morel discovers that the more the libido regresses from the external world, the less frequent become the material symbols in the mystic's writings. When the stage of ecstasy has been reached these symbols of objects or ideas are almost entirely replaced by the functional symbols of psycho-physical movement and desire.

It is important to notice that the regressive tendency and the lack of interest in reality, the homosexuality and phobia of the opposite sex, the masochism and timidity often appear in the mystic's early years; and, in Dr. Morel's opinion, these inborn tendencies of the mystics have been developed by an education and environment which happened to favor the original libido trends and hinder a free development of a normal sexual life.

Nothing less than a return to the intra-uterine condition can satisfy the desire of Dionysius to bury himself in a state of not-being. Consequently he interprets baptism to mean a rebirth from the mother's womb. The initiation of a monk, he highly esteems as the way to solitude; and solitude, as we shall see below, is ever desired by the auto-erotic and the narcissist. Mystic ignorance is praised because it leads to the desired pleasure found in the functional consciousness of ecstasy when the outside world is entirely shut out. Dionysius has no desire for an absolute unconsciousness. The light is ever his ultimate aim. The darkness, the ignorance, is but a threshold, a zone of psychic oscillation between the two worlds, a state in which the subject-object relation has not been entirely passed by the libido. For

St. John of the Cross the mystic night of the soul is like the darkness before the dawn. "Before being supernaturally transformed, the soul without doubt needs to annihilate itself in the darkness, and to escape from the limits of its natural and reasonable life of the senses." Likewise the will not to know is but a means to the pleasure of "*une élévation voluptueuse à la source sur-intellectuelle de L' amour divin.*" When the mystic allows himself to be conducted across this threshold he suddenly comes into the ecstatic light. The centripetal aim is achieved, the mystical union beyond all expression is won, the ecstasy is enjoyed for an instant. The fixity of a moment empty of all change gives the mystic the illusion of eternity; he feels himself *sub specie aeternitatis*.

Dr. Morel finds the ecstatic experience to be bi-polar. God is a projected image of the narcissistic libido; a fixed pole round which the desire moves until it attains ecstatic unity and momentary rest. The Indian desire for Nirvana likewise implies a regression to the mother. The very position of the body in the Indian prescription for the production of ecstasy imitates the intra-uterine state. According to Tauler, the mystic has a longing for the created to regress into the un-created, for "*die Entrückung und der neugewonnene Zustand.*" And we shall find the same word 'Entrückung' used of an analogous psychic state by Dr. Abraham following Dr. Bleuler. Eckhart expresses the deification of the ecstatic ego thus. "God and the soul are so unified that no creature, not even the angels can discover any difference between them."

Bernard of Clairvaux is an example of a more orthodox, because less regressive type of mystic. He was so dominated by his Oedipus complex that he developed an excessive cult of "Notre Dame" and puzzled

over the difficulty of being at once a man and also "in utero matris." A phobia of all other women and a homo-erotic relation to Jesus followed. Bernard's masochistic identification with Mary appears in his exclamation a propos of the wound of Christ which pierced Mary's heart: "I should count myself happy if I sometimes felt myself pierced by the sword's point in order that I also could cry: I am wounded by love." Bernard experienced certain brief sleeplike states which he describes as "vigil vitalisque sopor—rara hora et parva mora—O si durasset!" Bernard attained a primitive stage of object love and his desire for both male and female objects of worship expressed the oscillations of his strong bi-sexual trends. In Suso the anxiety which is so constant a symptom of auto-erotic activity is specially prominent.

Mystical women lack the male mystic's power of entirely emptying the material consciousness and also the desire for annihilation in the mother. Therefore they never reach the extreme regressive stage of the Yogis and Dionysius. Female mystical erotism is marked by a precise and anthropomorphic character and by frankly organic enjoyment of God in contrast to a more abstract vision of God sought by male mystics.

It is the typical course of the ecstatic state, as seen for example in Dionysius, that interests us here; the turning away from reality, the gradual ascent to another world through obscurity to a sudden and momentary thrill of emotional unity. Dr. Morel makes clear the sexual nature of the whole experience, which implies a regression to an infantile manner of erotic satisfaction. And he remarks that the tendency to peripheral occlusion is not without analogy to the state preceding sleep, in which Freud has noticed momentary manifestations of narcis-

sism. Accepting the dictum that the neurosis is the negative of the perversion, Dr. Morel thinks the mystics may have made their ascetical renunciation as the only way of avoiding both a sexual perversion and a more developed form of neurosis or psychosis.

The hysterical nature of the mystical states of ecstasy has gained a striking confirmation from the recent psycho-analytic study of hysteria. Perhaps the most relevant is that of Dr. Karl Abraham in cases of hysterical dream-states in the *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische und Psycho-Pathologische Forschungen*, 1910. Dr. Abraham has found that in each case there was originally a strong tendency to day dreaming, and that the hysterical dream-state was preceded by a stage of phantasy and exaltation. The primary day-dream passed into a second state of dreamy *Entrückung* or ecstatic feeling of rapture in which the familiar environment seemed unreal, and strangely changed. The patients themselves felt as if they were "in a dream." The third stage was an emptying of consciousness: a checking of the course of thought. At the conclusion of the state of emptiness occurred a fourth stage, marked by feelings and phantasies of anxiety and depression. The experience was described by these patients as pleasant until the last stage appeared.

One man suffering from severe hysteria had such an anxiety about leaving the house that he became unfitted for business and social life. Whenever he was made to feel his own inferiority or incapacity, he regularly reacted by falling into a dream state. His agoraphobia reminds us of the same affect noticed by Dr. Morel in the life of the mystics. The patient described his dream-state as at first an ever increasing "Enthusiasmus." This imperceptibly passed over into the second stage of complete introversion; a shutting out of all external im-

pressions. "In the phantasy," he declared, "one loses the ground under one's feet." Even his own body now seemed strange and unreal. The third stage immediately followed with its complete cessation of thought which led to the fourth state of extreme anxiety and weakness. Sometimes he tried to come down "as from a cloud" before the unpleasant end was reached. The word "cloud" is noteworthy: it points to the feeling of a clouding of consciousness which corresponds to the dark shadows of night and to the nescience through which the mystics pass to the ecstatic light.

The hysterical patients who had masturbated in childhood, waged a continual war in later years against this habit. Finally a compromise was found in the form of the periodic dream-states briefly described above. As the day-dreaming had been the prelude of their masturbation, so now it forms the first stage of the substitutionary dream-state. The second stage of rapture and isolation corresponds to the growing erotic excitement; and the emptying of consciousness symbolized the height of the orgasm at the moment of ejaculation. The anxiety and weakness that follows make the correspondence perfect. The feeling of isolation goes back to the masturbator's boyish desire to be alone with his phantasies. The disappearance of thoughts corresponds to the more or less complete loss of consciousness which is specially apt to occur at the height of his sexual excitement. Some of these hysterical cases, moreover, show a bisexual fixation of libido which is parallel to the frequent mystical identification of both Jesus and Mary. And the passive attitude of the patient to both libido projections has its counterpart in the religious dependence of men like St. Bernard. To the neurótic fancy of the hysterical patient, merely to walk alone out of the home meant

giving up his heterosexual incestuous relation and falling into his homosexual temptation. So he called up anxiety to replace desire, and fancies of grandeur to give self-respect. Here we are reminded of the limitless self-centredness of mystics who did not hesitate to identify themselves with God i. e. with the projection of their beloved ego. Dr. Abraham noticed that the dream-states of his patients satisfied the impulses to aggression and exhibitionism: Dr. Morel noticed the possessive and jealously exclusive love of the mystics and their desire for spiritual nakedness at the time of their ecstatic vision of God. And the double hysterical desire to remain a child and to die is fully expressed in the mystic symbolism. One patient could induce his dream-state by a strong act of will not to think of anything in the external world, just as the mystics induced their ecstasy by "amor nescire" and "docta ignorantia." And the hysteric describes as if he were a mystic the short stage of pleasure like an eternity accompanied by a feeling of introversion and alteration. One of Dr. Sadger's patients described the feeling that preceded his hysterical loss of consciousness thus: "the feeling of going back in the swing" (which had excited him as a child and was doubtless linked to the previous joy of being rocked by his mother) "is just the same as the falling asleep in the absent-state which always seems to me to be the highest form of joy." He then expresses the wish of St. Bernard for an eternity of the brief moment of ecstatic "sleep"—"if only one could fall asleep in this way for an eternity!" By drinking alcohol this patient could induce the trance state in order to indulge therein his homo-sexual desire to be nursed and cared for by his comrades. Likewise the mystics, by taking a narcotic in the form of a mental discipline which narrowed the attention to a point, could satisfy their similar unconscious desires.

Dr. Pfister relates the case of a girl whose religious experience was a cloak for her auto-erotic activity. "One day" she told the analyst "I was pondering on the text, 'There is no fear in love but perfect love driveth out fear.' I said to myself, 'Let everything go; yield yourself only to the father.' Half unconsciously I did the evil deed. I was not ashamed. I went right to sleep. I found myself in the twilight state. During this mental state, it is again like the time when I did the forbidden thing; at that time I was as if in another world." (The Psychoanalytic Method, p. 131). A total loss of material consciousness is impossible in the prolonged twilight-states, which are therefore hidden from the censor by the subsequent total amnesia.

The states described above give essentially the same unconscious satisfaction to mystics and hysterics alike—a symbolically mediated identification with the mother, a narcissistic and homosexual activity. Hence both mystics and hysterics often fail to express adequately the meaning of their rapture, the obscuration of external reality and the expulsion of thought by their affective state. An exception was Dr. Sadger's hysterical patient who during the analysis remarked upon the strange looks in a monk's eyes, which appeared absentminded, far away from this world and pre-occupied by a phantasy which the hysteric felt to be caused by the same sexual need as produced his own absent-states.

The mystics, we conclude, are a sub-class of hysterics. The mystic ecstasy corresponds to the four stages of the dream-states—the primary tendency to phantasy, the consequent will not to know the world, the progress through the dark night of the soul to the ineffable depths of light and the exhaustion that follows the ecstasy. We must therefore posit in the mystics as well as in the hysterics

a primary auto-erotic or narcissistic activity, a secondary repression, and a final return of the repressed activity in the sublimated or spiritualised form of a religious experience or a mystic ecstasy. It also follows that the mystics' claim to sexual abstinence is only justified in so far as it is true that they have no desire for, but rather a phobia of normal sexual intercourse. For the undeveloped or regressive libido of neurotics, the mystic symbols open the way to an indulgence which is exquisitely satisfying to the self and also highly esteemed by the faithful who regard the state of ecstasy as the distinguishing mark of a saint.

CHAPTER VI

REGRESSIVE FORCES IN HUMAN FELLOWSHIPS¹

Fellowship is a magic word to-day. In a democratic country it seems the natural way of personal salvation and social reform.

Catholics, under the influence of the fellowship idea, are constantly insisting on obedience to the Church, the inherent powers of the hierarchy, the corporate life and social witness of Christians, the Body of Christ and the Fellowship of the Mystery.

Protestants are inspired by the belief in fellowship to make strenuous efforts to secure a reunion of all Christians in one fold. The numerous ecclesiastical fellowships for Church reform and the un-denominational societies for moral, social, and political purposes, are a witness to men's growing faith in the power of co-operation to advance the cause of truth and goodness. Even liberal churchmen have so far forsaken their wonted method of individual influence as to form unions to advance their aims. Metaphysicians like Josiah Royce make the Beloved Community the object of Christian faith and the centre of Christian life. Sociologists like Durkheim find in the fellowship of the clan or group both the primitive and the present meaning of God. Unanimist poets like Jules Romains tell us that "the men who henceforth

¹ First published in the Open Court, 1925, and partly based on a pre-analytical article in the Modern Churchman Vol. VII p. 321.

can draw the souls of groups to converge within themselves will give forth the coming dream." It is true that M. Romains has not yet found a group that is fully divine. "None", he declares "has had a real consciousness." But he has a confident hope that the day will come when a group shall verily exist as a soul. "On that day," he believes, "there will be a new god upon earth."

Since the majority of mankind have a strong desire for the power that comes from sympathetic association, it is important to study the behaviour of men in groups in order that this power may be consciously directed towards socially valuable ends. The pre-Freudian psychologists observed the inevitable levelling of the individuals who form a fellowship. It was well known that the idiosyncrasies of impulse are to some extent inhibited by the behaviour of the group as a whole. The French student of society, M. Tarde, declared "One is not born like others, one becomes so" by living in their society. A fellowship always involves imitation and aims at the propagation of general ideas and collective values. There is much imitation and social suggestion in the loosely knit society of a city or nation; the gregarious forces are more active in a religious or moral fellowship which is of one heart and mind; there is an almost overwhelming degree of social pressure upon the individual in a closely packed gathering. In the crude and violent behaviour of the revival meeting we can clearly see the forces that are hidden behind the more repressed behaviour in orderly religious worship.

By his recent work on Group Psychology, Freud has made possible a deeper insight into the satisfactions of fellowship by tracing the influence of unconscious desires within the group. Freud has discovered that the infantile desires for parental protection, providential love, and

irresponsible, careless behaviour are all satisfied by life in a group. When the conscious individual will is relaxed in obedience to the suggestive force of the group leader, the hidden desires can rise from the depths and combine with similar impulses in the other members in such a way as to issue in non-rational acts. The crowd then regresses from the relatively conscious control of adult individuality to the unconscious control of childish desire. The home was the infantile paradise in the days before self reliance was necessary. Therefore the home forms the model for all subsequent group life. In the home the parent is loved and worshipped by the infant, who agrees to share the parental affection with the other children in his family, when he learns that it is impossible to exclude his rivals. Moreover, home life was the delightful time of unmoral indulgence of pleasant desires before the period of normal control. The child was content to be economically and morally dependent on the elders who protected it from the attacks of strangers or enemies. The first love was the love for the mother and the father; there was no original instinct of sympathy for the family form of the human herd. Only later appears the love for brothers and sisters, and the repression of rivalry and envious hate. The organised group regresses in its behaviour to the family situation. The sympathetic bond of the members to the leader and to one another is largely dominated by the emergence of infantile love within the group. The escape of infantile affects is made easier by the prestige of the group and by the suggestive power of its leaders.

The exact nature of this suggestive force had long been in debate, until Freud and Ferenczi discovered its unconscious roots in the child-parent relation. The substitute for the father or mother authority appears not

only in the hypnotist and the faith healer, but also in the crowd leader and the hero. The hypnotist and the orator may use the masterful method that suggests the father or the quiet persuasion of the mother in order to gain the end desired. Since the dominance of the infantile unconscious depends on the suppression of conscious control, hypnotists and orators use repetitions of sights or sounds and gestures that narrow the attention and the rational activity. Suggestion therefore works most powerfully when a dense crowd has a leader, or when a meeting of disciples is called for a definite purpose. Movement of body and distraction of mind both hinder the process. It is only when the unconscious is wholly free that suggestion may be direct and commands may be plainly made. So long as the conscious will retains some power of censorship over the unconscious and the temporarily submerged part of the self, the suggestions must be indirectly made in order to be successful. The child obeys the parental will so long as it can identify its own will with the commands of the elder. And this identification depends on the child's confidence in the elder's love. The ruthless assertion of authority on the part of a leader, by destroying the childish confidence in his love, calls forth a stubborn resistance to his alien will which now seems like a hostile attack upon the self. In any but the most ecstatically excited meeting, the successful speaker or preacher practises the indirect method of suggestion. By subtly concealing his will to suggest certain feelings, ideas, or acts, he eludes the resistance of his hearers.

The group and the gathering of men, in proportion to their psychological unity, behave in a way that is foreign to the normal life of their members in isolation. The crowd is anonymous and therefore irresponsible. When thus relieved from the checks of prudence and fear, the

members of a group are capable of performing heroic or criminal deeds that they dare not do without a collective stimulus. The fellowship may indeed behave better than its units apart, but it usually behaves worse than its members at their best. This is natural, since the unity of the group involves some suppression of the inventive originality and the inspired individuality of its members. M. Gustave le Bon is probably right in saying that the crowd (in a psychological sense) is always inferior in ideas to some, at least, of its members, though it may be superior in the intensity of its feeling and the power of asserting its will. M. Anatole France is true to history and psychology when he allows M. Gamelin, the tender-hearted and kind lover and friend, to be led by the suggestion of the French Revolution to advocate cruel acts of merciless butchery.²

² "Every crowd is either actually or potentially homicidal" writes Dr. Everett Dean Martin in "Some mechanisms which distinguish the crowd from other forms of Social Behaviour" *J. of Abnorm. Psychol.* 1923. In a review of the above statement, Dr. Menninger states that in a sense it is the opposite of Freud's theory which makes love the bond that holds groups together.

I would suggest that when the crowd phenomena are regarded in the light of Rank's theory in *Das Trauma der Geburt*, the supposed opposition disappears. If the crowd gives a partial satisfaction to the tendency to regress to the intra-uterine situation, all the described phenomena of love and hate become more intelligible. The crowd facilitates repression of the birth trauma by submerging the rational functions under a flood of emotions, and by rousing the feelings of security, sympathy and unity, of warm physical contact, and of reduced individual consciousness and responsibility. When external stimuli suddenly break up a crowd, the birth trauma is reproduced by a panic which is allied to the phobias of crowds, especially in enclosed places and moving vehicles that vividly recall the situation at birth.

The crowd in dreams has often been found to represent the one desired love object. If the crowd in reality represents to some extent the intra-uterine situation, the members of the crowd would naturally agree in desiring to transfer to all disturbing men the hostility felt for the "persecuting" father who caused their birth.

In the primitive tribes of Australian aborigines the power and need of fellowship to foster a social and religious consciousness is most clearly seen. The normal life of nomadic and rustic men tends to destroy tribal unity. Hence their need of periodical gatherings of tribes and clans. At these festivals the normal methods of suggestion as practised in Christian churches are insufficient to rouse the dormant social sense of the members. The tribesmen must be roused to a frenzy of feeling and action in order to realise their social unity as the mystical body of their Totem. Without this strong social suggestion by means of fellowship, the tribal cohesion could not survive the long periods of separate family life and the primitive tendency to narcissistic isolation.

From the lowly religion of these primitive men to the sacramental gatherings of Christian worship, the fellowship has played an important part in preserving and propagating the ideals which the inspired individual has created. Churches and prophets, states and reformers are consequently in perpetual conflict. The group ever seeks to keep the gains mankind has already won: the creative individual alone can win new gains for the world. The inevitable tension between these two factors of history provides the material for endless tragedy and heroism. At the dawn of history the groups are strong and the individuals weak. The dominant social suggestion almost excludes individual initiative, variety, and progress. In the middle ages, when ecclesiasticism was dominant, men readily caught the contagion of the Crusades. Even children could not resist the impulse to make a pilgrimage. When Stephen the shepherd boy of Cloyes in 1212 began a children's crusade, neither the edicts of authorities nor the threats of parents could counter the strong suggestion. Some children who were

forcibly detained at home pined away and died because they could not respond to the social pressure which they regarded as a call of conscience to follow their leader.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century had to reckon with the awakening of individuality caused by the Renaissance. Groups and their leaders henceforth found it more difficult to exercise absolute power over the individual. The increasing use of conscious judgment reduced the suggestive power of established societies and limited the influence of their leaders. As a consequence the modern world is less subject to the appalling psychical epidemics that occurred in the middle ages—the outbreaks of asceticism and flagellation, pilgrimages and crusades, and the hunting of witches and demons.

The scientists and modernists of the present day have gone a step beyond the truth seekers of the Renaissance in their conscious rebellion against the domination of groups and the inadequate parent-substitutes at their head. The spread of scientific education will promote the growth of mental and moral adults: the increase of psychically mature persons will, in its turn, reduce the power of crowds to determine the behaviour of infantile men. The next step towards self-reliance and conscious progress will come when the Freudian psychology has been applied to the home and school education of the people. At present the powerful unconscious forces in human groups tend towards fickle and impulsive behaviour with little sustained purpose and reasonable will. The crowd or meeting enormously increases the suggestibility of the members present. The unanimous show of hands in a packed meeting may but express the dominating will of a single leader. The power of the group over a rational mind is seen in the case of a young American sceptic who was led by hostile curiosity to join the circle of an open

air revival meeting. Neither his armory of doubts nor his force of will could resist the contagious excitement. The young scoffer soon began to beat his breast and to express the common religious emotion of the worshippers.

A curious result of group feeling, unchecked by critical individual reason and will, is the collective vision or hallucination, which is occasionally recorded at times of religious excitement or collective strain. A notable instance of this was the soldiers' vision of the angels at the battle of Mons. Indeed the contagion of a vision or audition is such that the evidence of five hundred witnesses is not necessarily stronger than the evidence of one. Collective emotion is at the mercy of the primitive unconscious mind, and always seeks pleasure in the old paths and familiar fancies. The fellowship therefore tends to be intolerant of differences, complexities, and novelties. Ideas must be simple and familiar in order to please the group which prefers images or symbolic acts. Even in the French Revolution we see the tendency of the group to become a cult with a goddess, with a belief in Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, and with leaders to increase men's faith, to sustain their hope, and to destroy the enemies of the people. The explicitly religious fellowship exhibits the power of suggestion at its height. In a large or ancient society the dogmatic forms, ascetic disciplines, and symbolic rites tend to fix the attention, to control the thought, and to rule the will.

Are we then to conclude that the practice of fellowship in groups is condemned by psychology as unworthy of a place in civilized life? Do the facts drive us to an exclusive individualism? Certainly not. Society is indispensable for the making of men. Life without human fellowship is a contradiction in terms. Social intercourse is an essential means to individual growth in

knowledge and love. But psychology has proved the practice of fellowship to be like alcohol in its narcotic effects upon the highest powers of conscious personality. Consequently fellowship must not be indulged in blindly lest it strangle initiative and weaken resistance to the infantile part of the self that is stimulated by the group.

Children are ready to accept almost any suggestion, and they retain their infantile impressions for life. Children should therefore be given more fellowship with children than with adults in order to develop their self expression and will power. The aim of childish fellowship should be to prevent precocious development and over stimulation of the senses or of the imagination. After the home, school is the chief formative fellowship for children. Yet the school, instead of educating children to resist the crushing domination of the group, often tends to produce a life-long habit of uncritical subjection and dependence. As if the boy's fear of his fellows was not already strong enough, Mr. Cecil Rhodes made popularity a recommendation for his scholarships. In view of the atrocities that have been produced by esprit de corps, it is perilous to drill the children into unconscious conformity with group conduct as if it had divine authority.

With regard to the fellowship of adults. No rule can be made to apply to all alike, because all differ in mental age and symbolic need. The person who is naturally inclined to independent activity is in danger of ignoring the traditional values of fellowship. Such a man does well to come down from his lonely height at times, like Nietzsche's Zarathustra and sink himself in fellowship. He will soon prove his power to emerge and rise again in full possession of his soul. But fellowship is like a dangerous drug to the person who is naturally passive and obedient. The frequent indulgence in the enervating

emotions of group gatherings uses the energy that is needed for a strong grasp of the real world and its tasks.

From this brief review of the psychological facts about fellowship we conclude that group emotion tends to inhibit the action of the conscious will, to let loose primitive impulses, and to discourage intellectual activity. The group has no higher soul than the psychically adult individual in its midst. Indeed the unity of the fellowship tends to an artificial suppression of personal excellence to the average level of traditional thought, conventional feeling, and primitive impulse. No fellowship as a whole ever makes a discovery or a moral advance. Not even Humanity with a capital H can be regarded as essentially superior to the best individuals it contains. The development of the race depends on a healthy tension between groups and their members. No known group, nation or race is a perfect embodiment of human life. Mankind is in the making, and the growing points are the finest specimens of men and women at a given moment. The practice of fellowship is only justified in so far as it contributes to the development of mental and moral adulthood, and involves no sacrifice of the highest persons to the lowly passions of the mob. Groups that are formed to satisfy the temporary desire of men dissolve when these desires are satisfied. Uniformity means death: variety and schism are the signs of life. A rigidly organised world-state might lead to racial decay. The clearest indication of vigorous life is man's creative will to break up and re-make his fellowships in order to enrich his personal life and to contribute to racial development.

CHAPTER VII

FREUDIAN CRIMINOLOGY

Freud's discovery of the wild unconscious wishes in the soul of civilised man has fallen like a bomb amongst the illusions of the day. The shock of the new knowledge is still widely felt; it can be measured in the frequent outbursts of anger, fear and scornful wit in reviews of Freudian books. The world has hardly recovered from the shock of Darwin's theories about the lowly origin of man's body, when it is forced to hear Freud's theories about the lowly origin of man's soul. It was hard to admit that the human body has evolved from the protozoa; it is harder to admit that the highest deeds of the human soul have developed from childish, savage and animal desires, which still lurk in the unconscious depths of civilised man. Freud has made it impossible to exclude the human mind from the evolutionary process. It is no longer reasonable to throw the body to Darwin and to deny the soul to Freud. There are signs that the first crude reactions of wounded pride and shocked self love are giving place to a more objectively scientific interest in psychoanalysis. Meanwhile something can be done to reduce the resistance of critics by pointing out the value of the new knowledge for society, and its interest for the individual who is able to overcome his primary disgust and fear.

Psychoanalysis has greatly increased the understanding of vice and crime. It is therefore important that all who are interested in the difficult social problems involved in

these forms of behavior should study the subject by aid of the new psychology.

The tendency of Freud's teaching is to break down the absolute barriers formed by self complacency and moral snobbery between the virtuous and the vicious, the good citizen and the criminal. Though many inhabitants of brothels and prisons are known to possess a low level of intelligence, the great majority of vicious and criminal persons are not moved by desires that are wholly alien to the rest of the world. On the contrary, the psychoanalysts have good reasons for their claim that in everyone may be discovered in latent or sublimated form the very tendencies and impulses that are crudely manifest in vice and crime. No doubt the extreme forms of vice and crime are based on unusually sensitive erogenous zones and abnormally strong innate impulses, which are overstimulated by the environmental factors that are powerless to lead less passionate natures astray. But it is also true that the impulsive nature of many criminals appears not to differ in kind from that of the virtuous and good citizen. The difference in behavior is largely due to the opposite external stimuli that have acted on the similar internal forces in the two classes of men: The one learns to erect barriers of control which the other fails to acquire.

Psychoanalysis has already a great mass of evidence to show that the main lines of later development are laid down in the first five years of life. It is probable that no wholly new interests and modes of reaction arise in later years. Certainly the beginnings of all the immoral or antisocial impulses of adult life are discoverable in the ordinary child. The sexual life of infancy has been called polymorphous perverse by Freud, who uses the term in a descriptive not in an ethical sense. It is poly-

morphous because the erotic pleasure is connected with various erogenous zones and erotic activities which at puberty will either be subordinated to the genital zone as means to the sexual end or be sublimated to social uses. Freud calls it "perverse" in order to show that the normal harmless activity in the pre-moral stage of human infancy is the same as the later perverse, aberrant behavior due to retarded erotic development.

The childish self-centered pleasure-seeking ought to be regarded as a proper biological preparation for the later sexual and social activities of civilised life. Too little stimulation of the childish nerves and muscles is as great a hindrance to psycho-physical growth as too much. Excessive excitement may lead to a permanent aberration of sexual behavior; insufficient stimulation may stunt the natural growth and lead to a later neurosis or an incapacity for love and happiness; too hasty repression and too stern prohibition may prevent the necessary sublimations of instinctive activity.

The healthy development of impulses involves a gradual compromise with the demands of ethics, aesthetics and law. The various childish impulses to auto-erotic enjoyment, narcissism, homosexual love, the desire to peep and to be seen, the desire to receive and to give pain, and the erotic attachments to the family must all change their primitive and direct channels and take devious ways that harmonise with moral, aesthetic and legal demands. A very delicate and difficult process of adjustment is implied in the formation of a socially adaptable and decently behaved citizen. The proper sexual and moral development is enormously hindered by the impossible standards of behavior and rates of sublimation demanded of the young by well meaning but ignorant, impatient, careless and tyrannical parents and

teachers. In view of the widespread denial of any normal sexual activity in the child, the marvel is that the social failures are so few.

The methods of vice crusaders in the campaign against the wave of crime that follows the war indicate the popular ignorance of the causes and cure of vice and crime. Many repressive methods have been proposed whereby, it is imagined, vice and crime can be stamped out. These methods may all be classed as either prohibitions or punishments. There are prohibitions of drinks and drugs, of dancing and sexual indulgence, by closing certain pleasure resorts. There are also pleas for longer terms of imprisonment and there are constant lynchings, tarpaintings and featherings. It is easy to see the moral and civic motives for these prohibitions and punishments, but we cannot be satisfied to know merely the conscious reasons for an act. We must in view of Freud's discoveries ask not only how these methods are consciously justified, but also how they are unconsciously determined. If we examine the unconscious forces behind the campaign to close dance halls and brothels, we find that the closure of the halls and brothels would be followed by a rise in the value of neighboring property. Here appears at least one unconscious source of the moral indignation of property holders against buildings of evil repute. If we examine the stern demand for cruel punishments to protect society and to deter the wicked from deeds of crime, we find that the punishments and penalties allow society to indulge precisely the same infantile impulses of cruel egoism and savage fear as the criminals themselves. Many members of society have repressed tendencies to do the acts they brand as wicked. Fearing their own unconscious desires, they welcome any legal or moral outlet, which will disguise their lustful phantasy

and cruel desires. They indulge in illegal acts of "righteous indignation" or legal punishments which involve public trials and the detailed newspaper narratives of vicious deeds. In modern society where the repressions of impulses are too many and the creative expressions too few, the policy of prohibition and punishment so increases the severity of the unconscious conflict between duty and desire, that some men seek relief in crime, and others make use of a legalised indulgence of the very desires concealed beneath a mask of virtuous horror.

In the light of psychoanalysis, persons who rely on prohibition and punishment for the cure of crime are bound to fail because, being blind to their own unconscious desires, they can see neither the unconscious motives of the criminals, nor the appropriate means for their control. The reaction of society to the criminal is in fact still largely marked by infantile outbursts of anger, fear, and self centered desire. The virtuous tend to ignore the vicious so long as they remain out of sight and mind.

In proportion to the spread of the psychoanalytic view point, society will react toward its criminal and vicious members with scientific and sympathetic understanding instead of ignorant and passionate condemnation. In order to prevent the aberration or exaggeration of natural impulse, all parents, nurses and teachers will have a knowledge of child psychology so that they will be able to observe the first signs of anti-social conduct and to take the proper steps to re-direct the erring desires of the young. The educational system will be vastly diversified in order to give ample educational opportunities for all varieties of developing persons to find artistic, industrial, scientific, and social outlets for their energy in

place of criminal acts. The education of impulse must not cease at the end of a reformed school and college course; it must continue in the life of business and pleasure. In cases where a satisfactory repression or sublimation of impulse fails to occur, trained psychoanalysts attached to each group of schools will help the erring ones to make the necessary readjustments of desire to civilised ideals. Unless the economic conditions of life allow creative work and satisfying love for every member of the nation, not all the schools and churches in the world can harness the wild wishes of unconscious life.

Psychoanalysis will enable society to advance another step towards the scientific and humane treatment of crime. Civilised states have already advanced far from the primitive cruelty of former times. In the middle ages even animals were solemnly tried and punished by the authority of the Church when they aroused the anger of man. E. P. Evans in his work on the Criminal Persecution and Capital Punishments of Animals states that from the ninth to the eighteenth century, about one hundred and fifty cases are recorded of executions of animals that had either damaged crops or taken human life. In 1557 in the Commune of Saint Quentin a pig was buried alive for eating a child. In other cases the Church allowed a jurist to defend the accused animals in court before a sentence of punishment was declared. In more recent times, the determination of animals' behavior being understood, men ceased to treat the cruel acts of animals as crimes or sins. But at the same time they still counted mental disease as a sign of wickedness and with a good conscience tortured the insane in prison. Today men are shocked at this cruelty of their forefathers to the irresponsible sufferers from mental disease. Tomorrow men will be equally shocked at the

present persecution and torture of the eccentric and abnormal types which are the inevitable products of repressive education, ascetic morality, absence of positive sex teaching, and inadequate physical and psychical conditions of work and play.

The application of Psychoanalysis to the social problems of vice and crime may be summed up in relation (1) to the young and potential criminals, (2) to the actual but alterable criminals and, (3) to the old and unalterable criminals.

(1) The young and potential criminals will be prevented in many cases from becoming actual offenders when education at home and at school is conducted by persons who have some knowledge of the unconscious impulsive forces in themselves and their children and have the power to eliminate many noxious stimuli and to encourage the formation of self-directed and socially acceptable modes of affective expression.

(2) The actual but alterable criminals who, because of sexual and egoistic ill-adjusted or undeveloped impulses, both cause suffering and themselves suffer, will be re-educated by psychoanalysis, followed by new opportunities for congenial self expression in work and play.

(3) The old and unalterable criminals who are either too abnormal or too weak in mind or will, to be analysed or reformed will be permanently segregated in large and pleasant island communities where they will neither harm society nor themselves suffer from the cruelty, anger, or fear of normal men.

Only after a general diffusion of the insight given by Psychoanalysis could society assume these attitudes to the problems of vice and crime. And it is impossible to predict whether the time will ever come when society can afford to renounce the satisfaction it gains from crime

and punishment. Recent Psychoanalytic research (1) has shown the surprising complexity of the unconscious desires hidden beneath the arguments of those who defend the present methods of prohibition and punishment in the home, the school, and the state.

It is not only hate that leads to lynching and the legal killing called capital punishment. In both cases there is also a satisfaction of the need for self punishment felt alike by the criminal and those who will his death. Every one suffers more or less from a guilty conscience on account of certain hostile desires repressed since childhood: every one therefore finds some relief in the act of confession or the deed which brings suffering to the doer. It is impossible in most cases to wreak vengeance on the mother, father; brother or sister, because these persons are normally objects of a love so strong that it banishes the hate entirely from conscious feeling. The ultimate root of the sense of guilt as *Rank* has shown, is the universal experience of leaving the mother and the phantasies involved in the process of psychical weaning. In some persons the break of the primal love-bond causes bitterness to the degree of deadly hate. The literal fulfilment of this revenge by mother murder is very rare. More common is the murder of a substitute for the father, brother, or sister who kept the child from a full enjoyment of the mother love. Most common is the satisfaction of hate by unconscious identification with the murderer and at the same time the satisfaction of guilt feeling by unconscious identification with the prisoner. It will revolutionise the attitude of society to crime when it is generally realised that criminals (as *Reik* points out) are burdened by guilt before the crime and

(1) Especially *Rank*, *Das Trauma der Geburt*; *Reik*, *Geständniszwang und Strafbedürfnis*).

find relief in the severity of punishment. The criminals are the scapegoats of society, and as long as society finds no relief such as an individual Psychoanalysis can give, for the unconscious hate and guilt, the present system of punishment must remain.

CHAPTER VIII

FREUDIAN THEORY AND SEXUAL ENLIGHTENMENT: A STUDY OF RESISTANCES.¹

At the present time the students of Freud's contributions to sexual and neurotic theory may be divided into the three classes of believers, doubters and unbelievers. The following study is written by one who is a believer that the Freudian hypotheses contain new truths that furnish strong reasons for the sexual enlightenment of the young. The scientific unbelievers, whose resistances are complete, banish "Freudianism" with "Mysticism" outside the circle of scientific psychology. The religious unbelievers regard Freud as an ally of the devil in a combined attack on the ideal of innocent ignorance. It is not surprising that this class of entirely hostile critics refuse to apply psychoanalytic theories to education.

The attitude of the doubters is interesting by reason of its inconsistency, and it is with the resistances of the doubters that my study is chiefly concerned. In persons whose opposition to the Freudian theory is only consciously overcome, the unconscious resistance tends to appear as a disinclination to apply the new knowledge to the problems of sexual education. The resistance also disguises itself as a doubt of the wisdom and kindness of removing what they regard as the blissful and harmless sexual ignorance of the young. Before examining the unconscious sources of this doubt, we may briefly

¹ Reprinted from *The Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. XI, No. 3, July, 1924.

refer to the plausible rationalization of the resistance that is frequently expressed. The application of the Freudian theory to religion, ethics, sociology and politics tends, by an "unmasking of symbols," to undermine an uncritical reverence for the traditions and idealizations of modern society. Hence arises in the mind of these doubters the question whether applied psychoanalysis ought to form a part of general education: whether the ordinary citizen ought to know what crude sexual impulses are directly expressed in the behavior of the child and savage, and indirectly expressed in the symbols and institutions of civilized man. The attitude of an anonymous writer who claimed to be a Freudian and a free thinker may be taken as typical of this class. He judged it an act of wanton cruelty to educate the childlike believers who have no conscious knowledge of the sexual impulses satisfied by religious symbols and mystical experiences: an act of tasteless barbarity to lay bare the ugly roots beneath the beautiful growths of modern love: and an act of dangerous treason to expose the libidinous bases of patriotism, militarism, and altruism in highly organized human groups.

Since these arguments are opposed by a mass of psychoanalytic evidence to prove the need for sexual enlightenment; and since these rationalizations are used by persons free from a conscious conservatism in religion and politics, we are driven to look for the unconscious grounds of such behavior.

From the psychoanalytical point of view all men are alike in their desire to satisfy the primitive impulse to an endless repetition of states of pleasant phantasy, and the later impulse to love objects in the world of outer reality. Men differ only in the relative strength of these impulses and in the manner of their satisfaction. Some adults

live as much as possible in their infantile phantasy world, and consequently have little interest in the discovery of truth and in the elimination of error. Other adults, more advanced in psychical age, strive to adapt their impulses to the necessities of the external world to which their love and curiosity extend. In the conscious of the scientist the reality principle holds a dominant but by no means undisputed position. Many members of this class have an endless struggle against their tendency to choose such beliefs about the world as will enrich their imagination with lasting pleasure and comfort.

When the interest in reality has hardly been maintained in early life, there is a specially strong tendency after middle age to regress to a primitive psychical level. Up to the present time the education of the young has generally been controlled by two classes of men, namely, the mystically inclined priests and the elderly parents and teachers. In both of these classes the tendency to regress to a primitive psychical level is particularly strong, and when the priest is also an elder it may be strong enough to overwhelm the interest in scientific truth. It is therefore necessary to consider briefly the unconscious forces that act as resistances to the sexual enlightenment of the young.

The organic involutionary process strengthens the desire found even in youthful mystics to return to such a primitive pleasure in rest and peace as that which preceded birth². The elder who is threatened by an unwelcome loss of power, and the priest who has willingly renounced the power of earthly love, both tend to compensate for their loss by identification with the children

² Since the above was written, Otto Rank in "*Das Trauma der Geburt*" has proved the strength and universality of the desire to return to the mother.

to whom they stand in the relation of parent or teacher³. The priest who consciously looks at the golden age of innocence as paradise is obviously inclined to prolong as late as possible the enjoyment of this ignorant phantasy in the minds of the young. The elder who yearns to be incorporated in the young, by reason of his unconscious tendency to return to the mother, is also inclined to delay the development of sexual selfhood implied by separation from the mother's womb, or the father's protecting power. By the mechanism of identification the forces of self love and child love combine to form a resistance to scientific instruction in general and to sexual truth in particular.

Another unconscious cause of the prevalent resistance in parents and teachers is the envy and jealousy of the elders against the development of children. For the unconscious the young appear as dangerous rivals and revive in the elders the old fears and hates of their own rival parent in the nursery days. The discoveries of Freud have forced us to admit that, in addition to the tender consideration for the helpless, there are self-regarding and even hostile feelings towards the young behind such pleas for ignorance as that contained in Tennyson's lines:

Leave thou thy sister when she prays,
Her early Heaven, her happy views;
Nor thou with shadow'd hint confuse
A life that leads melodious days.

(In Mem. XXXIII.)

The reference to the Garden of Eden myth is clear and by no means accidental. The Paradise story is a vivid symbolization of the regressive desires we are studying, and is as useful to us in our understanding of

³ Freud. "Zur Einführung des Narzissmus," Jahrbuch, VI, p. 15.

these resistances as it is to the elders in their attempt to find a conscious justification for their unconscious desires.

The Garden of Eden myth in the Book of Genesis vividly pictures the struggle between the conscious desire for psychosexual adulthood and the infantile forces of inertia. It is clear that the primary reference of eating forbidden fruit is not to knowledge in general, but precisely to sexual knowledge by experience. Being the earliest form of libidinous satisfaction after birth, eating is well fitted to symbolize the later forms of sexual activity which strive to compensate for the loss of the first enjoyment. Man and woman have the choice between an infantile life of narcissistic satisfaction of impulses in the enchanted garden and an adult life of sexual intercourse and cultural activity, with the pain involved in work and childbirth, in the world outside. In Paradise (the Mother) food flows to the body without effort; in the world outside food is obtained only by the sweat of the brow, and love involves sacrifice.

The myth itself merely presents the psychological facts in symbolic form. The use that is made of it depends on the desires of the moralist who appeals to its authority. And it has been fateful for education that in the past this myth has been interpreted by persons who were largely dominated by an unconscious desire to return to the psychical condition symbolized as Paradise. The elders, like the myth maker, yearned for the lost state of happiness where pain, work, and weakness were unknown and guilt was absent. The threatening Yahweh symbol is thus the projection and justification of a hidden desire for the parental protection. The authority of God is claimed for the enjoyment of the self-centered, fantasy-loving, infantile part of love which yearns for the

sheltered, irresponsible life in the state, the home, and at its lower level, the Mother. The ancient myth maker's desire finds an echo in the consciousness of modern men like Tennyson who regard the loss of sinless ignorance as a fall to a lower level of life. If the Garden of Eden means the intrauterine life for which the fantasy of every man unconsciously longs, it follows that the expulsion from the Garden is a symbol for Birth into the outer world. Consequently the prohibition of sexual knowledge is not binding upon those who strive consciously to live in psychosexual adulthood according to what Freud terms the reality principle.

The close relation of the Paradise myth to our present inquiry becomes clearer when we leave this lowest level of its symbolism and consider the conflict implied between the son, Adam, and the Father substitute Jahweh for the possession of Eve, "the Mother of all flesh." It then becomes clear why Jahweh is jealous of the knowledge and power gained by Adam through his sexual relationship with Eve. Dr. Theodor Reik has made it probable that Adam's act implied not only sexual indulgence but also hostility against the tree Totem which symbolized the Father. Yahweh then truly declares that the adult form of sexual activity involves an end of the psychosexual infantilism in the father's house. From this point of view the serpent is a symbol of man's libidinous desire which makes him rebel against a perpetual state of childish dependence and sexual immaturity. The serpent drives him to the satisfaction of his curiosity not only directly as a lover but indirectly in the cultural life of science and art. Yahweh, like the jealous and angry elder, tempts man to remain in a state of sexual childishness, deprived of the adult love of a woman. The serpent, like the rebellious love force, tempts man to go

forward to a life of self-directed sexual and social activity. The static and regressive tendencies of the human being speak through the voice of Yahweh who wills to keep mankind in ignorant dependence in Paradise. The dynamic forces of cultural progress underlie the suggestions of the serpent who expresses man's desire not only to know but also to become like the father, his highest ideal.

Yahweh in the Hebrew myth, like Jocasta in the Greek myth, represents the infantile pleasure in self-centered ignorance of reality. The serpent, like Œdipus, represents the adult's scientific interest which grows out of sexual curiosity. The effect of a passive obedience to the paternal prohibitions is seen in the ages of unreserved belief in the elders' interpretation of this myth. Abstinence from sexual intercourse was regarded as the highest ideal and man's narcissism made his ego the center of the world which was supposed merely to exist in order to satisfy his boundless desires. The sublimated libido of the serpent appears in the objective curiosity of the modern man of science who strives to construct a view of the world that is free from the distortions of infantile self-love. The scientist knows that the pursuit of truth inevitably excludes him from the shelter of pleasant illusions and comforting fancies. He knows that his discoveries expose him to the jealous anger of the guardians of tradition, and to the pained misunderstanding of teachers and friends. Yet, even at the cost of sadness and solitude, he is determined to know the facts about himself and his world and he will not leave the young in the paradise of ignorant inactivity.

The ideal of sexual infantilism and narcissistic dependence embodied in the Eden myth is inconsistent with the sane development of human nature to its full extent.

The psychical growth and health of man depend on his gaining knowledge as a basis for action which forever bars his return to the sleep-like Paradise of his fancy. It is clear that the traditional interpretation of the Fall myth represents the wishes of the ageing elders, the jealous parents, and the envious priests, the force of reaction, and the unconscious wishes in every human soul to escape from life and to sink back into an unlimited indulgence of self-interested passivity. These wishes have remained in control of the educational authorities just because they are for the most part unconscious of their existence. The psychoanalytic means of insight that Freud has discovered not only reveals the presence of such wishes in the unconscious but also makes possible the overcoming of the resistances they set up. Psychoanalysis points the way to a new, a saner, and therefore a better interpretation of such myths as that which by the elders has been called the Fall of Man. The person who forms his ideal according to the reality principle sees in the Garden of Eden myth, not the fall of man, but his ascent, and the triumph of his adult love of truth and reality over the passive pleasure-lust of babyhood. To choose ignorant dependence is to choose the arrest or regression of psychic life: to choose knowledge and disobedience is to advance towards adult individuality and self-guidance. The Paradise myth covers the unconscious desire with a divine authority and a good conscience; and in the strength of this moral feeling, the happy dwellers in Paradise are ready to persecute all truth seekers who make the reality principle their guide and so threaten to disturb the peaceful dreams of fantasy.

It is now intelligible that persons who are in ignorance of their own unconscious tendencies can accept some Freudian theories, and still hesitate to play the role of

serpent by giving knowledge which robs the children of "their early heaven" and their "melodious days." But humanity can only advance in psychical age when it escapes from its unscientific and aimless autistic thought and seeks first to know the external world and the hidden springs within the self. It is therefore of the greatest importance that a myth which justifies the Pauline glorification of ignorance and contempt for "worldly wisdom" should no longer bar the way to ethical and social development. If sexual activity and sublimated displacements of primitive impulses are the normal conditions of psychical adulthood, it is essential that those who are wise as serpents should also feel as harmless as doves in spreading their knowledge about human life.

It must be admitted that not every one can be educated for a life of psychosexual adulthood. Many mentally low types of personality are erotically infantile, with egocentric illusions that leave no room for scientific interest in reality. It appears that some are so constitutionally undeveloped that their time would be wasted in a vain educational effort to grow up; but a more scientific education would greatly reduce the numbers of ethically infantile persons of normal intelligence. The aim of the Freudian is to give every person from the moment of birth the environment and education that will promote the utmost possible psychosexual growth and to maintain as long as possible the highest development that can be attained. In addition to the education of the young who are capable of growth, including the removal of inhibitions by early psychoanalysis, the Freudian is interested in the reeducation of the physically and mentally developed adult whose psychosexual life has not fully developed owing to a fixation or regression of impulse. The educational ideals of the past have been limited too much by

the needs and capacities of the constitutionally defective types with subnormal impulses, who cannot safely leave the shelter of home or the institutions and societies that are closely modeled upon the child life of obedient dependence on the family objects of love. The prevalent belief in one psychosexual norm and one moral ideal has led to the waste of many lives of extraordinary ability and aberrant impulse.

The argument for refusing to tell the truth to the young and to reeducate by analysis the psychosexually stunted adult would be stronger if the infantilisms and repressions had no ill effects on health or efficiency. It is indeed healthy for the infant to be a self-centered egoist in a fantastic world. The self must develop its powers before it can play its part with other selves in the world of reality. Though a minority of persons cannot develop beyond psychic infancy and ignorance, the majority can learn to make some adjustment of their desires to alien wills and natural laws. Under present conditions, however, a large number of this majority fail to make a healthy and wise compromise between their desires and necessity. For lack of knowledge and opportunity they waste their energy, which is partly repressed and partly employed in useless or harmful pursuits and in neurotic conflicts.

In the choice between ignorance and knowledge is involved the alternatives of the childish pleasure principle and the adult reality principle. Ignorance favors a life that fears its own unconscious desires and seeks refuge in some real seclusion, some neurotic flight from reality or some psychotic hallucinatory world. Knowledge of the actual psychic forces disclosed by psychoanalysis promotes an economy of energy and a concentration of love upon objects that befit an adult and also benefit society.

In "Sons and Lovers," that tragedy of the Œdipus complex, D. H. Lawrence has vividly pictured the results of ignorance in a miner's son who, in spite of great mental powers, fails to achieve success in love or work because of his unconscious infantile attachment to his mother.

The crude manifestations of libido in the child and the savage are necessary stages in the development of the tender sentiments of love from physical desire. And since the primitive remnants remain in the unconscious of civilized man, it is of practical importance to recognize their presence. To know the facts of physical embryology is interesting; to know the facts of psychosexual embryology is essential to the control of the aberrant impulses, and to the production of original work in the realm of reality. Scientific criticism and construction depend on a relative freedom from parental authority in traditional forms of thought and custom. In "Sons and Lovers," Paul Morel, the unwitting slave of his parental complexes, is condemned to remain the central figure in his Garden of Eden. The ideal mother is an effectual barrier to any satisfying excursions in love. Unconscious of the fixation of his love, Paul is helplessly torn between love, disgust, and hate for the girls he successively seeks as his mate. By his unconscious bond to his mother, Paul is doomed to a tragic failure in his ignorant and hopeless quest for a lover to take her place. D. H. Lawrence shows a radical misunderstanding when he asserts, in a recent book, that Freud's solution of such a case as Paul Morel is to remove the inhibition against incest. The aim of psychoanalysis is not to give knowledge as a means to perpetual self-indulgence in the childish pleasures in the lap of the ideal or the actual mother. A realization of the unconscious parental attachment after a complete analysis leads to a release of

libido and its transference from the idealized object of the past to a real object in the present.

Since psychoanalysis reduces the risk of crime, neurosis and waste of ability, and increases the capacity for valuable and healthy activity, the Freudian cannot consistently refuse to apply his theories to the education of childish impulses in the young and to the reeducation of the repressed and inefficient adult. If the process of enlightenment is guided by persons who meet the Freudian requirements of self-knowledge and sympathy, there is practically no danger that applied psychoanalysis will do harm to the character of the ignorant. At any rate the certain gain in health and efficiency for the many will immeasurably outweigh the possible loss to the few.

The ignorant are of three kinds: those who cannot learn because they lack the mental capacity, those who do not wish to learn for fear of losing the satisfaction of their dearest desires; and those who are able and ready to learn if the facts are presented in such a way as to attract their attention and enlist their interest. The ignorant who do not wish to learn, being naturally timid, have the power to build barriers against the knowledge they fear. They often hold firm convictions that are proof against the evidence of facts to which they react with outbursts of anger, shame, disgust or contempt. The resistances of the majority of this class can be harmlessly removed by the technique of analysis or by instruction on Freudian lines by scientific educators. A small minority of this class would be harmed if they lost their illusions, just as some neurotics are harmed by the loss of their symptoms; but in these cases the resistance to self-knowledge is usually so great that the danger is not serious.

In the past the teaching of sexual science has been used as a weapon against the current ethics and religion by hostile propagandists of militant atheism. By ignoring the psychological conditions upon which the acceptance of new opinions depends, the angry opponents of orthodoxy either shock the traditionally minded into greater intolerance or break down the old symbols without replacing them by new ideals. The ignorant can only be shocked by unscientific partisans in so far as harmful sex taboos have been maintained by parents and teachers who are dominated by unconscious jealousy or envy of the sexual experiences of the young. Sexual curiosity is a natural impulse in childhood; and the children's need for sex knowledge is limited only by their capacity for understanding, which is indicated by the form of their questions. Consequently the dangers of harmful enlightenment are removed when truthful answers are given to all the inquiries of the young about sexual impulses in themselves and in society.

CHAPTER IX

M. COUÉ'S THEORY AND PRACTICE OF AUTO-SUGGESTION¹

The present study is based upon the explanation of Suggestibility by Dr. S. Ferenczi in terms of Freud's libido theory². From this it is evident that suggestibility depends on the repressed libido. The affects connected with the parental complexes, being incapable of free discharge, undergo neurotic displacements until they can be transferred to a parent-substitute who shows signs of sympathy and healing power. Dr. Ferenczi's paper was written before the present widespread popularity of the New Nancy School of auto-suggestion under the leadership of M. Emile Coué. At that time the method of suggestion by hypnosis prevailed, but M. Coué and his school dispense with hypnosis and claim that their method of induced auto-suggestion, being free from the objections raised against the older methods, is the best way of treating the symptoms of neurosis.

It is the purpose of the present paper (*a*) to state Coué's theory and practice of auto-suggestion in psycho-analytic terms; and (*b*) with an understanding of the mechanisms involved in the technique, to weigh the claims that are being made for its superiority as an almost universally applicable aid to psycho-physical health.

Mr. Harry Brooks' popular manual contains a statement of the essentials of the theory and method written

¹ First published in the *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1923.

² S. Ferenczi, *Contributions to Psycho-Analysis*, p. 30.

in a manner that M. Coué, in the Foreword, regards as "simple and clear³." The theory is based on the power of the unconscious, but the term is loosely used in a sense that seems chiefly to cover the psycho-analytic concept of the preconscious. The power of the unconscious is seen to consist in an acceptance of conscious thoughts and a consequent realization of them either in healthy or in unhealthy states of mind and body. It is significant that Prof. C. Baudouin in his more technical book on *Suggestion and Auto-Suggestion* uses the vague term 'sub-conscious.' The acceptance of the psycho-analytic concept of the unconscious is incompatible with M. Coué's claim to heal all neurotics by a method which only attacks symptoms and pre-conscious 'outcroppings.' In harmony with the technique based on verbal formulae, M. Coué's theory makes pre-conscious products in the form of verbal imaginations take the primary part in the causation of health and disease. What Prof. Baudouin calls the law of 'reversed effort' is thus stated by M. Coué: "When the Imagination and the Will are in conflict the Imagination invariably gains the day⁴."

Since the conflict here described is waged between pre-conscious or conscious verbal images and the repressive forces of the moral consciousness, M. Coué is satisfied when he has replaced a pre-conscious morbid thought by its opposite. Because M. Coué regards a good verbal auto-suggestion as a cure for morbid thoughts, it seems possible for him to believe in a bad verbal auto-suggestion as their source, and to ignore the unconscious source of neurotic symptoms. In harmony with M. Coué's emphasis on words, Mr. Brooks has much to say about the power of thought to modify the unconscious, and there-

³The Practice of Auto-Suggestion. New York. Dodd, Mead & Co. 1922.

by the bodily health. The only obstacles to this exercise of verbal imagination appear to be the conscious attention and will, which cause doubts and fears that counteract the power of thought.

Mr. Brooks sums up M. Coué's theory of suggestion in these words: "The whole process of Auto-suggestion consists of two steps: (a) The acceptance of an idea; (b) Its transformation into a reality. Both these operations are performed by the Unconscious. Whether the idea is originated in the mind of the subject or is presented from without by the agency of another person is a matter of indifference. In both cases it undergoes the same process: it is submitted to the Unconscious, accepted or rejected, and so either realized or ignored. Thus the distinction between Auto-suggestion and Hetero-suggestion is seen to be both arbitrary and superficial. In essentials all suggestion is auto-suggestion. The only distinction we need make is between spontaneous auto-suggestion, which takes place independently of our will and choice, and induced auto-suggestion, in which we consciously select the ideas we wish to realize and purposely convey them to the Unconscious⁵."

This explanation is in harmony with Psycho-Analysis in so far as it asserts that, in Dr. Ferenczi's words, "in hypnosis and suggestion the chief work is performed not by the hypnotist and suggestor, but by the person himself⁶," who was looked on by previous theorists as merely the object of the intrusive activity. While not denying the part in his method played by hetero-suggestion, M. Coué nevertheless seems to minimize unduly its importance. In his reaction against the old view of the hypno-

⁴ Quoted by Harry Brooks *Ibid.* p. 63.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 55.

⁶ Ferenczi. *Ibid.* p. 50.

tist as the active agent in causing a dissociation without which the suggestion is impossible, M. Coué writes at times as if the method can wholly dispense with the transference of libido to an authority. In the Foreword to Mr. Brooks' Manual M. Coué maintains that "the instructions given are amply sufficient to enable any one to practise auto-suggestion for him or herself, without seeking the help of any other person⁷." There is probably no auto-suggestion free from all hetero-suggestion, because no one can be wholly removed from the influence of the parents and their suggestive substitutes. It is at any rate clear that hetero-suggestion plays an essential part in M. Coué's method. Every person who uses his formulae must have some knowledge of the ability of M. Coué or his followers to remove the symptoms of ill-health. Both in the clinic at Nancy, in M. Coué's own manual and Mr. Brooks' book, the personality of M. Coué and his healing powers are impressively manifest. The ignorant regard M. Coué as a worker of miracles: and Mr. Brooks makes clear the resemblance to Christ when he writes of M. Coué's "great goodness of heart" that caused him to place his whole life at the service of others at any time, and to refuse any fee for his treatments (p. 41). Mr. Brooks declares that this is a method demanding faith; and faith in the method cannot be had without faith in the authority who spreads the good news. There is clearly a transference of libido to a parent-substitute as well as a verbal formula.

The two factors in the removal of symptoms are paralleled by the two factors at work in their production.

(1) Hetero-suggestibility or the capacity for transference. Dr. Ferenczi thinks this varies in proportion to

⁷ The Practice of Auto-suggestion, p. 7.

the libido fixation upon the parents. The neurotic is therefore extremely sensitive to all authorities, human and divine, and in his loneliness he is ready to accept a new sympathetic parent-substitute to satisfy his hunger for love.

(2) Auto-suggestibility or the discovery by the repressed libido (connected with the parental and other complexes) of the maximum outlet compatible with conscious renunciation⁸. These two factors—the search for parent-substitutes and the creation of neurotic outlets for unsatisfied impulses—are powerfully stimulated by the environment in the most highly civilized nations at the present time.

Among the strongest stimuli to fear may be mentioned:

(a) the economic dependence of a large majority of the people upon the will of a powerful minority, and

(b) the disintegration of the traditional creeds.

A transference of libido to human and divine parent-substitutes is thereby hindered; the masochistic tendency towards death⁹ is increased by the loss of sadistic and aggressive outlets; and the feeling of impotent inferiority is induced by the lack of proper narcissistic sublimations.

(c) The moral conscience, by constantly increasing prohibitions, tends to produce a morbid intensity of guilt and fear.

Knowing that the will-drill method of cure tends to increase the doubts and fears upon which the attention is fixed, M. Coué relies on the power of verbal imagination to avoid the conflict with the will and to attain the end he desires. The auto-suggestive technique is simple. The subject repeats morning and evening, when as nearly

⁸ Cf. E. Jones. *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, p. 325.

⁹ Freud, *Jenseits des Lustprinzips*, p. 54.

asleep as possible, the general formula, "Day by day, in every way, I am getting better and better." This may be supplemented by particular formulae for specially desired alterations in mental and bodily functions. As an aid to the effortless use of the formula, a string with 20 knots is passed through the hand to mark the 20 repetitions that are required to insure the impression of the words.

The emphasis laid on words and acts is most significant for the psycho-analytic understanding of this method and its popularity. When a woman consulted M. Coué, he asked her to make no arduous search for the repressed desires that made her speech "a flood of complaint." "Madame," he interrupted, "you think too much about your ailments, and in thinking of them you create fresh ones." The technique tends to revive the infantile use of magic words and gestures, which accompany the slightly qualified belief in the child's omnipotence. Mr. Brooks seems to realize this when he follows M. Coué in advising "the infantile mode of repeating the formula" which "puts one in touch with deep levels of the Unconscious where the child-mind still survives" (p. 84). This certainly harmonizes better with the primitive processes evoked than Prof. Baudouin's advice to repeat the formula in the manner of adult piety with all the words separately stressed.

We conclude that what distinguishes this method from other forms of suggestion is not the absence of transferred object libido, but the subordination of this to a large increase in the expression of narcissistic libido. With the revival of infantile narcissism goes an indulgence of negative hallucinations such as mark the period before the development of the reality principle. The imagin-

ation is used to promote the belief that all is well and that pain and suffering will disappear.

It seems possible to state more exactly in terms of libido quantities, the way in which the transference of parent libido makes possible the conscious increase of narcissism. On p. 82 of his recent work on *Massenpsychologie und Ich Analyse* Freud shows that falling in love exercises an important influence upon the ego-ideal and consequently upon the conduct. When the love-object takes the place of the ego-ideal, the lover ceases to criticize not only the loved object, but also his own deeds done for the beloved. Acts that the lover could not or would not do without this motive, now seem possible and lawful. A quantity of the lover's libido is released from the censorship of the ego-ideal when a person is found for its embodiment. So long as the ego-ideal was largely a personal imagination, the ego was in constant fear of losing it by unworthy acts: when the ego-ideal is transferred to another person, the ego needs a smaller quantity of sado-masochism to chasten and control the repressed desires. The first love objects in the family could only be loved with much renunciation of crude desire; the new love object may allow a direct outlet of genital sexuality in the lover. While the initiator of an auto-suggestive process does not allow an outlet for uninhibited adult sexuality, he does allow an outlet for infantile narcissistic omnipotence and inattention to evil. The traditional divine parent-substitutes in this way work wonders for their sons; the new substitutes who authorize auto-suggestion enable the followers of their instructions to work wonders for themselves. The hetero-suggestions of modern civilized society allow an abnormally small amount of positive libido to find direct and sublimated expression. Consequently too much force is consumed in the work

of building defences against illegitimate love and hate; and neurotic symptoms are the almost universal result.

The initiator of auto-suggestion who receives the transferred object-love is an authority who, unlike the childhood authorities, wills the power and the pleasure of his pupil, and therefore breaks his pupil's habit of masochistic renunciation, adopted as an expiation for rebellion in the past. The suggestor not only removes the quantity of libido used for masochistic and anxious barriers against narcissistic expression; he also draws off a part of the masochistic libido himself in the form of loyalty. For, as Dr. Ferenczi remarks, in confirmation of Freud's view, "the hypnotic credulity and pliancy take their root in the masochistic component of the sexual instinct," which takes pleasure in obeying the parents¹⁰. By a reduction of the fear and the sado-masochism, which are the chief weapons in the neurotic war upon health and life, the symptoms tend, at least for a time, to disappear.

On the basis of the foregoing sketch of the libidinous forces involved in consciously induced auto-suggestion, it is possible to judge the value of this method of prophylaxis and psychotherapy. It is necessary first, however, to be sure of the meaning of the practice to be judged. Both the terms 'imagination' and 'auto-suggestion' seem to be ambiguous and even to refer to widely different mental processes. We cannot therefore be satisfied with M. Coué's sincere purpose to replace wrong imagination by right thought, unless we are sure that the 'right' is also the psycho-physically healthy. It is best for our purpose to avoid ethical terms, and to consider the auto-suggestive imagination in its action upon the libido.

¹⁰ Freud, *Jenseits des Lustprinzips*, p. 68.

Sometimes and in some persons auto-suggestive imagination is a repressive force in the service of the conscious ego-ideal with its inhibitory action upon the libidinous impulses. The effect of auto-suggestion in this sense is to increase the ego-dominance. At other times and in other persons auto-suggestive imagination is used as an expressive force in the service of the unsatisfied libido of auto-erotic and allo-erotic complexes. The effect of auto-suggestion in this sense is to increase the libido dominance.

Referring to auto-suggestions that produce symptoms similar to the neuro-psychic inhibitions of hypnosis, Dr. Ferenczi inclines to assume a far-reaching analogy between the psychical mechanism of these auto-suggestions and the mechanism of psycho-neurotic symptoms¹¹. This analogy seems to be true of auto-suggestion in the first, but not in the second meaning I have given above. The auto-suggestion which removes the alcoholic indulgence of unconscious homosexuality must increase the neurotic repression; whereas the auto-suggestion that removes the fear of indulging exhibitionistic libido on the stage must reduce the neurotic repression.

It is clear then that auto-suggestion cannot be recommended as the best aid to health, if it is either of the repressive kind or of the expressive kind when this is used (a) to promote regression to infantile narcissism, (b) to weaken the reality principle, (c) to replace the search for the hidden causes of ill-health by an ignorant removal of pain and incapacity, and (d) to encourage the delusion of omnipotence, for which such words as 'difficult,' 'impossible,' 'I cannot,' will disappear¹². Indeed it cannot be recommended at all as a substitute for Psycho-

¹¹ Ibid. p. 72.

¹² Harry Brooks. Ibid. p. 26.

Analysis where this causal treatment can be had. The danger of the repressive kind of auto-suggestion is most manifest precisely in its educational application, as proposed by Mr. Brooks on p. 107. The parental suggestions for good behaviour whispered into the ears of sleeping children, and the imposition of moral taboos by unanalysed teachers would greatly increase the amount of neurosis in the future. It is equally unsatisfactory as a method of dealing with moral delinquencies in ignorance of the unconscious impulses expressed therein.

Induced auto-suggestion can be most safely used (*a*) for the removal of the slight neurotic symptoms that occur in approximately normal persons under exceptional conditions of strain. The most permanent results of this method are probably secured in civil cases that resemble the war cases in so far that neither the constitutional nor the infantile factors in neurosis would cause an unbearable repression unless unusually severe shocks or accidentally harmful suggestions occurred in adult life; (*b*) for the involutionary cases that preserve the relics of a bygone conflict by the habit of repetition, and (*c*) for unanalysable persons.

The chief value of the suggestion movement, is to draw attention to the fact that, in modern civilization, the social, economic, and moral restraints cause an increase of sado-masochism, depression, envy and fear, that play an important part either in the formation or in the neurotic complication of almost all disease; and that immunity to psychical and physical infection from without, depends on the removal of the unconscious causes of inefficiency within.

CHAPTER X

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LIBIDO IN FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE¹

Pastor Karl Ludwig Nietzsche had a neurotic constitution that may have given Friedrich Wilhelm, his son, an innate tendency to introversion and regression. The Pastor had asked to be removed from the city, where he suffered much from nervous headaches, to the quiet country rectory where Friedrich was born. The suggestions of Nietzsche's religious home so powerfully reinforced his inherited capacity for the inhibition of impulse that it is difficult to study the pregenital stages of Nietzsche's libido in the absence of a psychoanalytical biography.

In his early years Nietzsche showed an unusual intensity of moral scrupulosity and self-control. His sister noticed his silent reaction to punishment, his love of solitude, and his thoughtful, earnest behaviour. "The serious introspective child, with his dignified politeness, seemed so strange to the other boys that advances from either side were out of the question." When the child Nietzsche felt a scruple he would leave his game, hide in an obscure corner, and refuse to come out to play with his sister until he had either allowed or condemned his desire: when the man Nietzsche felt a problem on his conscience he would go into solitude and say that he felt like a philosopher in a hole.

Nietzsche's hypersensitiveness to stimuli must have led to an intense enjoyment of autoerotic activity in babyhood.

¹ First published in the *Psychoanalytic Review*, 1923.

There are traces in Nietzsche's actions and ideas of a strong oral erotism and an intense disgust which was expressed in attacks of vomiting and in loathing for mankind in the mob. As a student Nietzsche had a great fondness for sucking sweets ;and his egocentric doctrine of power may be in part a reaction against his infantile feeling of impotence when he no longer possessed the means of oral gratification. There remain a few indications of his anal erotism, though it seems to have been mainly sublimated in highly productive paths. Nietzsche knew his lack of a conscious tendency to hate: "With enmities I was never long in earnest. I laughed too soon again: I was not made to hate and to be an enemy." Consequently he enjoyed a controversy only so long as he did not see any personal suffering follow from his attacks. Sadomasochism and observationism lie beneath his deep love of truth. "I chose to seek knowledge at any price. I did this with a hardness, impatient curiosity and great courage that ruined my health for years. All I had loved I examined and saw its *other side*". (Author's italics.) Exhibitionism and sadomasochism underlie his repeated burning of lighted matches on his outstretched hand before his schoolmates, and also his later asceticism. That Nietzsche found in his philosophy an outlet for his infantile interest in feces appears in his letter to George Brandes: "I am like a gold maker. From what mankind has most hated, despised and feared I have made my gold." The strength of Nietzsche's interest in dirt may be judged from the fact that even the sight of paper covered with ink was sufficient to cause anxiety. "From time to time," Nietzsche confessed, "I feel a childish repugnance to printed paper. I think I see soiled paper." But as a rule Nietzsche's interest in the anal product was satisfied by

his habit of taking a periodical retrospect of his books and ideas. The influence of anal erotic habit is also seen in his obstinate dislike of visits of those he loved when he was engaged in his creative thought and writing; his interest in giving a perfect form to his thoughts; his speed of production of books after long periods of note-taking and preparation; and his lack of generosity in admitting his intellectual debt to previous thinkers.

As we shall see in our survey of Nietzsche's relations with men, his strong narcissism had a certain passivity towards aggressive and elderly men. It is significant that Nietzsche described the experience of floating on the water when swimming as the loveliest joy. As an intellectual creator Nietzsche felt that it was only the feeling of pregnancy that bound him to life, and kept him from the desire for suicide that at times of great pain almost prevailed.

While admitting Nietzsche's inherited tendency to extraordinary acts and affects, the psychoanalyst is chiefly concerned to show how the accidental events of Nietzsche's childhood powerfully stimulated his delicate affective mechanisms, and led to fixations of libido that determined many of his later words and deeds. The most important of such accidents appear to be the death of his father and baby brother when Nietzsche was four years old. Dementia followed the father's fall downstairs and death occurred a year after the accident. The intense grief that the child Nietzsche felt for the death of his father and only brother was a product of conscious love, and a reaction against unconscious hate of the two rivals for the affection of the mother and sister. In his fourteenth year Nietzsche recorded a dream that he dreamt just after the loss of his father and before his brother's death. The manifest content, that seemed to Nietzsche a divine

premonition, reveals the hostile affects that were concealed beneath his moral inhibition and religious belief in immortality. In his account of the dream Nietzsche wrote: "I heard mournful organ music, as if at a burial, and as I was trying to discover the cause of this playing, a tomb opened sharply and my father appeared clad in his shroud. He crossed the church and returned with a little child in his arms. The tomb opened again, my father disappeared into it, and the stone swung back to its place. At once the wail of the organ ceased and I awoke." To this account of the dream Nietzsche added the following interpretation and comment: "The next morning I told the dream to my dear mother. A short while after, my little brother Joseph fell ill, and after a nervous crisis of a few hours he died. Our grief was terrible. My dream was exactly fulfilled, for the little body was placed in the arms of his father. After this double calamity the Lord in heaven was our sole consolation."

There is no indication that Nietzsche felt any sorrow in his dream. And this is natural if the dream satisfied the unconscious wish for the repetition of an experience of such a high and complex affective force. The little Oedipus was doubtless pleased to see his father once more shut away in the grave with the baby brother in his arms. Even the wail of the organ music ceased when the stone swung back to its place after the two rivals had finally disappeared in the tomb. Nietzsche's youthful interpretation completely concealed the hostile wish for his brother's death. By picturing the baby in the beloved father's arms, Nietzsche was able to moralize his wish for the brother's death. It is probable that Nietzsche's terrible grief and his transference of affect to the Lord in heaven were to some extent an overcompensation for

his unconscious hate. After a period of youthful religious faith, the return of repressed hate for his father would incline the adolescent Nietzsche to deny the existence of his father's God. At the age of thirteen Nietzsche ascribed his exceptional knowledge to the help his father was able to give him from heaven; and to the end of his intellectual life Nietzsche's unconscious hostility was hidden beneath his strong conscious affection and reverence for his father. The intense ambivalence of feeling appears only in relation to the father substitutes, in the form of God, and a series of heroes, teachers, and friends.

Nietzsche's extreme respect for authority appeared in his refusal to run home from school in the rain with the other boys because the rule compelled him to walk, and in the moral severity of his student days at Bonn, when Nietzsche felt too timidly wrapped up in himself, and tried to reform the habits of his student association. At school Nietzsche's identification with his father led him to wish to be a preacher; to use a mode of expression which caused his mates to call him the little pastor; and to cultivate his father's habit of improvization on the piano. But regarding his desire for a musical career as a temptation to be resisted, Nietzsche decided to undergo the stern discipline of philology instead.

When the picture of his father ceased to form a satisfying ideal, Nietzsche transferred a large surplus of affection upon a series of substitutes. The most prominent heroes of his youth, after the loss of faith in God, were Schiller, Byron, Hölderlin, and Ritschl, his teacher in philology and guide in life. Paul Deussen, his college friend, noticed Nietzsche's absolute trust in the judgment of Ritschl, who for a time became almost an intellectual conscience. At the same time Nietzsche declared himself

to be so personally chained to Ritschl that he could not get free. In course of time the rebellious desire of Nietzsche to make his own philosophy overcame his interest in the impersonal study of words. The inevitable result was a break with Ritschl and the search for a more adequate narcissistic mirror and a finer father substitute. Until he discovered Schopenhauer, Nietzsche felt full of self-reproach and self-hatred for his lack of guidance and principle. He wrote to his sister: "What are we seeking? Is it repose or happiness? No, it is truth alone, however terrible or evil it may be." It was Nietzsche's passionate study of Schopenhauer's "*Die Welt als Wille*" that gave him the truth he sought and the full satisfaction of his homosexual libido. "My enthusiasm for Schopenhauer," he wrote, "reminds me of my first love." Full of reverence and joy, Nietzsche called Schopenhauer his "father" because he satisfied the desire for a master, a mirror, and a friend. At length Nietzsche's critical impulse, with its unconscious reinforcement, began to attack Schopenhauer's metaphysics and ethics; but Nietzsche felt such reverence for his ego ideal that he postponed for a time the publication of criticisms he had begun to write at an earlier date.

After his estrangement from Schopenhauer, Nietzsche was able to make an intense transference of filial feelings upon Richard Wagner. In her "*Life of Friedrich Nietzsche*" his sister writes that Nietzsche was like a son to a father in relation to Wagner. All Nietzsche's efforts were directed to do Wagner's will, and many of Nietzsche's thoughts were suppressed from "*The Birth of Tragedy*" for the sake of his friend. Nietzsche referred to Wagner, in letters, as "the greatest man and the greatest genius of this time." "When I am near him I feel near a divinity." Hence Nietzsche found pleasure

in obedience to Wagner's will so long as the positive transference prevailed; but Wagner's ruthless use of his moral authority roused Nietzsche's negative transference of filial hate and fear of a further indulgence of his unconscious desire for passivity, which led to a painful end of the intimate friendship. The relationship of Nietzsche to Wagner most closely repeated the infantile situation because Nietzsche was passionately attached to Wagner's wife and had therefore an unconscious motive for envy and hate that was lacking in the case of his "father" Schopenhauer. Yet Nietzsche wrote in a letter of 1880 to Peter Gast: "I suffer shockingly when I am deprived of sympathy, and nothing can make up for my loss of Wagner's sympathy last year. How often I dream of him and always after the past manner of our trustful association. Even in my dreams there is never a bad word spoken between us. With no one perhaps have I laughed so much, and the fact that I am right in some points against him does not wash out the memory of that sympathy."

Nietzsche's break with Schopenhauer and Wagner, we conclude, was determined by the ambivalent relationship of Nietzsche to his father, by the repression of a passive homosexual desire, and by the emergence of the will to escape from their common regressive tendency to nihilism and Nirvana. The later feeling of Nietzsche for these men was like a phobia in its obvious flight from temptation within. Nietzsche's capacity for a ruthless self-observation gave him some insight into the deep and morbid affective similarity which drew him to the men he used as narcissistic mirrors and father-substitutes. But in his attempt to gain psychic independence Nietzsche set free a quantity of libido which found no new satisfying objects. His Oedipus complex, as we shall see,

kept it from a direct heterosexual outlet, and his genius kept it from complete homosexual satisfaction by any known man of his age. The result was a pathological increase of narcissism which preceded his final collapse. Of Wagner, Nietzsche wrote: "I hoped to find a man to whom I could look up. I thought Wagner one. I was wrong. He is not even in my rank." The chief conscious causes of Nietzsche's later fear and hate of Wagner were:

(1) Wagner's manifest objection to the attempts Nietzsche began to make towards self-assertion and intellectual autonomy.

(2) Nietzsche's fear of the seductive romanticism of Wagner's music. The intensity of this phobia caused Nietzsche to avoid all concerts for five years lest he should again fall under Wagner's spell. Nietzsche's feeling that parts of Parsifal were strangely like some of his own youthful music made him "terribly aware how nearly related to Wagner I am." The extent of Nietzsche's identification with Wagner is also marked by the fact that Nietzsche ascribed the hated elements in Parsifal to the evil Christian influence of Wagner's wife.

(3) Wagner appeared also to have robbed Nietzsche of a highly valued friend in the person of H. von Stein. At a time when Nietzsche could find no homosexual sublimations and was near the mental breaking point, the loss of such a brilliant disciple as Von Stein was a serious event.

At the time of Wagner's death Nietzsche's creative will was making a desperate fight against his ill health. It is therefore natural that the news of Wagner's death seemed the essential alleviation for him in his sickness. Nietzsche wrote to Peter Gast in 1883: "I was not strong enough to bear the six years' antagonism to him

whom I had most revered. It was the old Wagner that I had to guard against. I will to be the heir to a great part of the proper Wagner." In 1885 Nietzsche wrote: "I need a master. To obey would be sweet. . . . I am alone." In the same year Nietzsche complained that "there is no man I could love because none of my rank. No one could love me because this would presuppose knowing who I am. I despise Wagner and Schopenhauer and think Jesus superficial." Though Nietzsche may have been ignorant of the part his father played in his love of friends and heroes, he was partly conscious of his idealizing narcissism in their regard. His sister wrote in *The Life* that Nietzsche made his friends in his own image; and the following words of Nietzsche show that he realized this: "A group of friends is to some extent a projection of our inside outwards, a kind of scale on which all the tones of our being find an expression." At school Nietzsche formed a passionate friendship for two boys, to whom he wrote many affectionate letters. Nietzsche's narcissistic libido always blinded him to the real nature of his idealized friends until the inevitable disillusionments of experience opened his eyes and caused him depression and despair. A visit from the Dr. Rée he afterwards despised, so stimulated Nietzsche that a severe attack of migraine came when he had gone; and the bitterness of tone in *Human all too Human* is a measure of his grief at the recent loss of Wagner's love. The dominance of the homosexual impulse in Nietzsche is betrayed by his assertion that the conflicts of friendship are similar to those of love, but on a much higher plane. The absence of love songs from his poetry is also significant. Freiherr von Seydlitz wrote of Nietzsche, his friend: "No nobler man than he have I ever learnt to know; purity and chastity have gained through him a

higher worth." For his friend Erwin Rohde Nietzsche even offered to give up his professorship at Basle, whereas to Paul Deussen Nietzsche behaved in a censorious and domineering manner. Nietzsche accused Deussen of writing to him in envy and base pride at the time of Nietzsche's election to the professorship. In reply Nietzsche wrote that "if the disrespectful letter was not produced by an accidental brain-storm, their relations must cease." On one occasion, when Nietzsche asked Deussen to pay him a visit, Deussen refused to defer his return to work, and was therefore reproached for putting a lesser duty to his office before the greater duty to his friend. Nietzsche's tendency to the assumption of paternal authority grew in proportion to his regression to narcissism and to a negation of the father. The opposite, worshipful tendency is still manifest when Nietzsche wrote in 1879 to Gast "a word of love and of thanks: I need your footsteps: I lose so much not to have you: we must help one another to be and to do better: for me, Venice is your home and consequently I think of it with hundreds of good wishes and blessings: I hold you to be better and more gifted than I am: when I was your age I was absorbed in lexicons and had no idea that I had the right to hold and contribute a universal thought." In 1880 Nietzsche felt it was his only joy to think of Gast in hours of pain; and he made the significant admission that "to-day as every day I bring to a restful end my reflection about you by means of chloral." When Nietzsche told Gast of the death of H. von Stein, another disciple and friend, he wrote: "I really loved him: he was one of the few men in whose nature I rejoiced: also he had great trust in me, being similar in the fact that at any rate we are masters of our senses and know other important problems beside the

sexual." The use of chloral may be connected with the repression of homosexual desire implied in these passionate friendships.

It was the forms and the fixations of Nietzsche's libido, we conclude, as well as the changing thoughts of his genius that made Nietzsche write of friendship: "First comes the mutual attraction on the basis of a common conviction, then the joy of belonging to one another, the mutual admiration and glorification, then mistrust on one side, and doubt of the superiority and views of the friend on the other side, the certainty that a separation must come and yet the difficulty of living apart—all these and other unspeakable sufferings." We are therefore prepared to find that Nietzsche never ceased to feel the loss of faith in his friends' character and work.

The ideal ego and the ideal father were the chief objects of Nietzsche's love and devotion in his heroes and friends. By the lack of real objects Nietzsche was therefore driven in later years to a pre-occupation with phantasy figures and supermen. The figure of Zarathustra became prominent only in the last period of Nietzsche's activity after the loss of his friends, though the figure had appealed to his imagination in earliest youth. Nietzsche told his sister that in childhood he had seen the figure in a dream; and Frau Förster Nietzsche states that he gave different names at different times to this prophetic substitute for the ideal Pastor of infancy.

Having sketched the development of Nietzsche's father-complex and homosexual impulse, we must now briefly note the influence of his Oedipus complex upon his heterosexual life. The letter of the adolescent Nietzsche to his mother in 1863 shows his masochistic dependence in the demand he makes for a stern letter of

rebuke for his intoxication and the loss of position that followed its discovery. As a university student Nietzsche's desire to please his mother was still strong enough to make him bear for one semester the uncongenial study of theology at Bonn. Even in manhood Nietzsche maintained some part of his affection for his mother, in spite of her naive and unintelligent misunderstanding of his nature and philosophy. Not content to keep her ministerial office in relation to his material needs, she stupidly tried to influence his mental and moral career by urging him to give up his new ideas, which made him enemies, and to keep to his Greeks. Yet in 1879 when death seemed imminent, Nietzsche refused even his friend Gast's invitation to go to Venice, declaring that "In certain circumstances, as I think, it is fitting that one should be closer to one's mother, one's hearth, one's souvenirs of childhood." His desire to return to the mother may be manifest in the fact that Nietzsche, when a pupil at the Institute, chose to set to music the words "Open ye, O gates of the world, that the King of glory may come in"; and that in an early plan for "Thus Spake Zarathustra" Nietzsche wrote "Zarathustra dying, holds the earth locked in his arms". Nietzsche also showed great love for his grandmother, but most of his childish heterosexual love was permanently transferred to his only sister Elizabeth. As a man Nietzsche preferred her presence because he laughed more with her than with any other friend. *The Life of Friedrich Nietzsche* abounds in evidence of his sister's affection and reverence for her brother. In the preface she wrote "This book was written by love, true and deep sister-love": "All my youthful happiness was in him. All my thought and feeling from earliest childhood were only concerned with him. As a little girl, I treasured his

writings." And, we may add, that when she grew up she never ceased to keep his letters which are full of his passionate love. In 1860 he asked Lisbeth to "think often of your loving brother." In 1862 he wrote "I think of you almost all the time, not even excluding the time when I am asleep; for I dream pretty often of you, and of our being together".

The early games of Nietzsche are significant of his sister-complex. He would play at being Odysseus and rob sheep from his sister and he liked the game of being doctor. Elizabeth often awoke at four a.m. in excited eagerness to play the games announced by Nietzsche to take place that day around King Squirrel, the center of his phantasies. After a phase of play with boys at war games from which Lisbeth was sorrowfully excluded, Nietzsche resumed his playful intimacy with a new feeling of sex superiority gained in part from his environment. In spite of a small difference in age, Nietzsche now began to assume the attitude of a much older lover to his "Little girl" whose reading and education he directed. His sister never rebelled except, Jocasta-like, when told by Nietzsche that the stork story of birth was not the truth.

Nietzsche's strong father-identification and consequent interest in the claim to Polish traits may have contributed to his later reaction against his original mother love. Nietzsche noticed that the Niezky type had been well preserved in spite of three German mothers in successive generations; and in *Ecce Homo* Nietzsche only casually referred to his mother. The greater part of his heterosexual libido which escaped repression by renouncing its original aim was transferred to the intelligent sister who flattered his vanity; the remainder of this libido formed friendships with women and various abortive attempts at

love and marriage. Because of her age and devotion to his person and work, Fräulein Malwida von Meysenbug was able to give Nietzsche an intimate friendship free from thoughts of marriage, and at the same time a mother-substitute of fine character and intelligence. In a letter of 1870 which shows that he had already transferred to Malwida von Meysenbug some of the moral dependence upon his mother, Nietzsche confessed "I don't think I can ever be satisfied with my conduct if I have not first your approbation". Not only did he write in a filial tone to this woman, he also asked her explicitly to give him "mother love". When in Zarathustra Nietzsche made reference to the mother's laugh he is known to have had Malwida in mind. In a farewell letter to Malwida in 1879, when death seemed near, Nietzsche referred to her as "sister" and thereby indicated the extent to which the sister had taken the mother's place in his heterosexual love life. Moreover at that time, Nietzsche's need of a sister substitute was increased by the loss of Lisbeth's sympathetic understanding when she became a strong Wagnerite and a hostile critic of *Human All too Human*.

The inhibitory effect of Nietzsche's infantile complexes is seen at its height when he attempted to fall in love and contemplated marriage. A certain misogynist strain in his writings was doubtless due in part to the current opinion of the weaker sex in a militarist society; but Nietzsche's attitude to women was also determined by his sexual infantilism. In early days he had ascribed his sister's great ability at school to the presence of supernatural aid; in later years he wrote a passage which Gast felt to imply a despising of women. Nietzsche was so unconscious of his contemptuous tone that when Gast brought it to his notice, Nietzsche thanked him and re-

moved the passage from his manuscript. It is significant that, after reading Strindberg's *Les Mariés* in 1888 Nietzsche wrote to Gast "Very curious, we absolutely agree about 'woman'"; and that Nietzsche expressed his dislike of women who showed they were in love, and lacked the sexual reserve Nietzsche thought proper to all healthy persons. Deussen had noticed the youthful Nietzsche's disinclination for kissing girls and visiting prostitutes. Once a young companion lured Nietzsche into a brothel. Nietzsche stood for a while speechless before the girls. "Then" he relates "I went instinctively to a piano as to the only psychic being present, and struck a few chords. They loosed my state of stupor and I won my freedom". The sexual interest Nietzsche felt for a girl in 1863 never developed beyond the stage of friendship. In 1874 Nietzsche expressed a desire for marriage and in 1876 he proposed to marry a girl after having known her for a period of exactly four hours! In his anxiety to obtain his sister's approval of his hasty act, Nietzsche sent Lisbeth a photo of the girl to see if it pleased her. The next year he wrote to his sister that "The marriage, very much to be desired as it is, I know well is yet the most improbable event". And when his mother urged him to marry for his health's sake, Nietzsche admitted that it might be desirable if he could find a "suitable but rich woman". In all his later references to the subject there is a growing disinclination and a conscious realization that marriage would be a fatal barrier to his independence—an old housekeeper being therefore more desirable than a wife. Nietzsche's final views about his getting married appear in a letter of 1888 to his sister, describing how he had seen a charming girl who would do him good if he could wed her. But "with my ideas" he adds "should I not make this

girl unhappy and would not my heart break (we assume that I love her), if I saw so amiable a creature suffering? No; no marriage”.

Before Nietzsche reached his final decision against marriage he had made one notable attempt to win a Russian girl who came to him with the praise of his friend Von Meysenbug, as a worthy intellectual companion and mate. No doubt Nietzsche felt at first an intense attraction for Fräulein Lou Salomé; but M. Halévy thinks that Nietzsche only wanted a spiritual relationship, and proposed marriage merely to save her reputation in society. Moreover, Nietzsche hesitated to propose in person, and it was only after her refusal of Dr. Rée his deputy, that Nietzsche asked her and heard her repeated rejection of his offer. When Nietzsche subsequently planned to live at Paris with Fräulein Salomé, Lisbeth expressed her strong disapproval. Probably her jealousy was aroused, as well as her envy of the woman who had received an initiation into Nietzsche's ideas not given to herself. Nietzsche was clearly aware of his sister's disapproval when he wrote to tell her that he would hate to think that she did not share his feelings about Lou; for “our names ought always to be named together, so similar are our purposes and gifts”.

Nietzsche idealized Fräulein Salomé as a heroic soul, fit to be his pupil and heir. To his friend Gast he wrote: “Lou and I are friends, not lovers. I shall keep this maiden holy.” But Nietzsche's passionate idealization was soon followed by bitter disillusionment and disgust for her “cattish egoism” and incapacity for “high selfishness and the strictest morality”. Nietzsche was almost desperate at Fräulein Salomé's inevitable failure to fulfil his ideal; and at his own failure to judge her character at first. After this unsuccessful attempt at transference,

Nietzsche's health became much worse in 1879 when he naturally welcomed the motherly care of his sister once more. When *The Dawn of Day* was published Nietzsche showed great anxiety lest the new thoughts therein should alienate or shock his sister. So he asked her to read the book from a personal standpoint (unlike all other readers) and to note, as she read, what her brother needed most and what he willed. That Nietzsche's libido had regressed is further seen in the tenderness which made him break in his sister's case his habit of writing letters only on the days when he was too ill to do creative work. It is therefore not surprising that Nietzsche regarded Lisbeth's love for Förster with jealous pain as an insult to himself. Nietzsche felt sorry that the instinct of her love for her brother had not kept her from loving Förster his "antipodes"; and Nietzsche felt hurt when Förster accused him of ruthlessness to the sister to whom he had been "more tender than to any other human being". Nietzsche told his sister how terribly hard it was for him not to see her before her departure for Paraguay with her husband. Nietzsche felt it was a giving up of his tradition; and it was at this time that he wrote with hate of a certain woman who had tried to separate him from his sister, and thanked heaven that his "friend" did not succeed in depriving him of her love. For she was his "bridge" to the rest of the world. The train of thought aroused in him by the sight of an attractive young girl revealed the depth of his regression. First he was reminded of his sister's charm, and then of her plan for his marriage. A daughter would be pleasant, he reflected; "But a sister is best". In 1888 he told his sister that she was the only one in whom he had unlimited (as it were instinctive) faith. Yet so deeply wounded was his self-love before the final mental collapse, that he

was unable to bear her slightest criticism of himself.² With the sudden onset of dementia in 1889 the regression became complete and, after the mother's loss, Nietzsche quietly resigned himself as a child to be mothered by his sister until his death. In the last period, in the sunnier home at Weimar, he said one day to Lisbeth "you and I, my sister, we are happy".

We conclude that the great creative work of Nietzsche was due to the libidinization of mental mechanisms that were extremely efficient and sensitive by nature. Nietzsche's passionate love of naked reality was rooted in a successful sublimation of unusually strong infantile sexual impulses. The failure of Nietzsche's heterosexual libido to find satisfying objects beyond the family circle caused an immense quantity of energy to flow out at the narcissistic level. The philosophy of Nietzsche is not only the mirror in which he looked with love at his own greatness and power; it is also the clearest picture of the unconscious impulses of man obtained before the Psychoanalytic discoveries of Freud.

² If it is true that Nietzsche's refusal of marriage was consciously determined by his having contracted syphilis, it is probable that the sudden onset of paralysis was due to the wounds his vanity received at this time. For Dr. S. Feldmann has shown that psychic traumata can induce the onset of paralysis in syphilitic subjects who show no organic disturbance. In the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, III, p. 276, he reports the case of an artist who, fifteen years after his syphilis, received a serious blow to his professional vanity that led to a sudden onset of paralysis.

CHAPTER XI

FREUD'S DEATH INSTINCT AND RANK'S LIBIDO THEORY¹

Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Freud holds the Nirvana principle to be the dominant tendency of life. By the Nirvana principle he means the striving to remove or keep constant the inner tensions due to stimuli. (*Jenseits des Lustprinzips*, p. 55). And Dr. F. Alexander has recently shown (*Imago IX*, p. 35) that in the Buddhist mystics' way to Nirvana, this primitive tendency can be observed at work. The Buddhist monk who has renounced adult sexual love, proceeds to withdraw his interest from the whole external world in the first stage of his journey to Nirvana. After this introversion of libido, the monk sinks into a melancholic phase, by turning upon his own body the hate and disgust he had previously felt for the outside world. When the monk has broken down these sadomasochistic barriers to the flood of self love, he regresses to the next stage of positive narcissism. This is marked by a sensation of pleasure in every part of his body, immersed as it were, in a pool of delight. After the catatonic phase is overcome, the monk sinks beyond the pleasure principle to the entrance of Nirvana itself. In this primitive state of apathy even the body ceases to be an object of love. The mind merely registers an endless succession of events in time. The vague feeling of contentment and the awareness of repetition presumably approach as closely as possible to the state of the child before birth. Alexander thinks that the pri-

¹ First published in the *Psychoanalytic Review*, 1926.

mary erotism may be centered in the umbilical cord and the course of the fetal blood; and it is clear that the mystics' belief in a World Sound, their repetition of the word OM, their control of the breathing process and their postures might well symbolise such a regressive desire. Moreover, the mystics' experience of bodily pleasure exactly describes the state of autoerotic sensibility with which Hollos and Rado suppose the whole foetal body to be charged.

In his book on the Trauma of Birth, Rank has recently published some results of his penetration into hitherto unexplored depths of the Unconscious. Rank has shown that the mystics' state of ecstasy is just one way of trying to regain the satisfaction of prenatal existence for which everyone yearns and strives in some way. There seems to be a universal tendency to repeat as completely as possible the intrauterine state of rhythmic inertia in entire dependence on the protection and support of the maternal environment. The profound modification of Psychoanalysis by Rank's discovery is clearly seen in regard to the womb phantasy. Freud thinks this may have its origin in an unconscious extrauterine fantasy of coitus with the whole body, instead of the penis only. (*Zeitschrift* XI, p. 14). Rank on the other hand, gives a real biological basis for the womb-phantasy in the actual and supremely satisfying experience of nine months "coitus" in which the whole body of the unborn child is in contact with the maternal organs.

It is my purpose to view some of Freud's theories in Beyond the Pleasure Principle in the light of Rank's discovery of the fundamental part played in life by the libidinal relation to the mother. (*Das Trauma der Geburt*). Rank's work makes it easier to explain the destructive tendencies and the repetition compulsion by

the libido theory without the aid of such an admittedly speculative hypothesis as Freud constructs about a death instinct beyond the Pleasure Principle. Indeed Freud's attempt to explain these phenomena without the aid of his libido theory may be regarded as evidence of Rank's opinion that it is just in relation to the regressive tendency to the mother that the deepest repression exists and that consequently the Unconscious attempts to ignore or rationalise the tendencies in question from which no one can be wholly free.

At the primary erotic stage of passive absorption in the rhythmic trend of events, we may assume that the first reaction to unassimilable and therefore disturbing objects would be fear or hate. By breaking through the peaceful state of inertia, disturbing objects compel the individual to psychophysical activity. Freud conjectures that sadism is derived from death instinct energy, projected from the organism and libidinised. The normal sadistic component instinct would be due to a mixture of the sex and the death instincts; whereas sadomasochism as a perversion would imply a partial separation of this biologically useful mixture. (*Das Ich und das Es*, p. 50). If we may imagine the intrauterine state (and the animal state it recapitulates) as an enjoyment of rhythmic function apart from consciousness of self or objects, there would be no occasion for the exercise of a destructive impulse so long as the functional rhythms were regular. A destructive impulse would only have biological value as a reaction to disturbing stimuli; and the impulse to destroy would then serve the purpose of the primary wish to have peace restored. Now Rank has shown (*Das Trauma der Geburt*) that the birth process is the first great disturbing excitation; and John B. Watson (*Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist* p. 200) has

discovered rage in the new born infant under light pressure of the hands against its head or its elbows; and fear when the baby is suddenly moved or placed in water at the temperature of the body. Such stimuli by reviving the recent trauma of birth would hinder its repression and call forth the emotions and motions observed. Moreover the mystics' evidence shows a destructive tendency only in the earlier and less regressive stages of hostility against the world and the conscious self; the final stage of mystical unity or Nirvana is accepted and enjoyed as an indefinite experience. And it is noteworthy that the child passes through the stage of sadistic pre-genital erotism before its object love has fully developed from the primary narcissistic omnipotence. Hence the ambivalent attitude to objects observable at this psychic level.

The destructive, not yet sexualised, impulses are devices whereby the primary libido can attempt to prolong or restore the state of bliss that we imagine to exist in the natural intra-uterine state and in its artificially induced mystical reproduction. For, in Freud's terms, the death instinct is opposed to all accidents that disturb or shorten the orderly functions of the organism. The first stage of the affect we call hate would thus be a vague irritation at exciting objects. Wherever we can study the disturbance of narcissistic pleasure we see manifestations of anger or fear.

From this point of view the question as to the priority of sadism or masochism might be answered thus. Objects that disturb the primary apathetic enjoyment would be hated. And since at the stage before the genesis of self-feeling, all objects must have this irritating character, all objects must be subjected to the undifferentiated impulse that we assume to exist behind the present sadistic tendency. An active hate could only arise after

the development of a self felt to be separate from the world. The anxious desire to escape from painful physical or psychical objects perhaps preceded the desire for their active removal, which was beyond the power of the primitive organism. When the self and its body begin to be differentiated from the world, the majority of disturbing objects are found to be in outer reality, and only a minority (at least in the healthy child) within it-self. Therefore the normal child tends towards sadism and hate; the diseased child towards masochistic expressions of hate against its own mind and body. It is possible that a vague irritation at objects may be stimulated in the child before birth, and that when the birth process is difficult, and is followed by frequent, intense pain in infancy, a strong masochistic reaction tendency may be fixed in the child.

Freud suggests (*Das Ich und das Es* p. 55) that the apparent change of love into hate is due to narcissistic energy which can be withdrawn from the object that disturbs the primitive instincts. The destructive forerunner of sado-masochism could thus be regarded as a weapon directed primarily, not against life, but against objects that disturb the rhythms of life (Rank, *l. c.* p. 187). When these objects are traumatic the self-preservative instinct defeats its own purpose and tends towards disease and sudden death. If there is a vague erotic pleasure in repetition, the normal tendency would be towards inertia (Ferenczi's *Beharrungstendenz*: see *Jenseits des Lustprinzips* p. 40) and constant tension (Hollós *Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* IX p. 320); whereas the abnormal tendency (due to an intense regression and over-sensibility) would be towards ego annihilation and bodily death. The suicide impulse against the disturbing ego in melancholia is a function

of the same narcissistic Id as causes homicide in the narcissistic psychoses (cf. Rank l. c. p. 60). And in both cases the narcissism becomes destructive of the self or of others because the object love is lacking in a sufficient cathexis to hold the destructive impulse in check. If Freud is right in seeing a damming up of ego-libido as the mechanism producing hypochondria, the anxiety would occur when the libido cathexis was great enough to force the organ to become an object of consciousness and, as such, an obstacle to the primary erotic enjoyment. The psychical mechanism in hypochondria is comparable to the physical mechanism of autotomy. Indeed the autotomic power shown by some animals may be, as Ferenczi suggests, (*Versuch einer Genitaltheorie*) one form of a reaction tendency common to all living beings.

If the facts grouped by Freud under a death instinct with its repetition tendency may be regarded as manifestations of a primary erotic enjoyment, we find human development changing at birth from a state of enjoyment without object or conflict to a state of struggle between the primary erotic instinct and the secondary erotic relation to objects. In the normal and healthy intrauterine existence, before complete identification is physically broken by birth and psychically broken by self-consciousness, the primary erotic enjoyment of rhythmical function is probably undisturbed by painful stimuli. In the extra-uterine stage after the catastrophic trauma of birth there is a mixture of fear, hate and love (a) of objects regarded as part of the self (b) of the real and the ideal self and (c) of other objects outside the self.

The course of life henceforth is a continual compromise between the regressive desire for inert repetition and the interest in external and internal stimuli; between the primary desire to remove disturbing objects by force or

by flight and the secondary desire for their psychic absorption as objects of libido by the self. The primary instincts in the ego-ideal are opposed to the conscious ego when this is adapted for reaction to sensations and images. The pathogenic conflict between ego and libido in psycho-neurosis may be defined as a struggle of the primary erotic instinct against the object libido, in which both sides have received wounds beyond the subject's own healing power. Indeed the wounds to the primary instinct received from birth, weaning and parental prohibitions increase all the later feelings of anxiety by the ego. In so far as the ego identifies, sublimates, desexualises, by removing love objects from its circle of interests, the ego becomes a function of the primary erotism. But the very forces enabling the ego to accomplish this task are strong enough in some persons to make the ego itself a disturbing and therefore a hostile object to the ego ideal. (*Das Ich und das Es*, p. 71.)

Freud states that if there is an instinct beyond the Pleasure Principle, one would have to posit a time before the wish-fulfilling tendency of the dream existed. Freud finds in the traumatic neurosis a relic of this primitive type of dream that follows the repetition tendency as a means to the psychical binding of traumatic impressions. (*Jenseits*, p. 30). When the trauma proves incapable of harmonious absorption by the unconscious depths, the result is the arousal of consciously unpleasant repetitions as a means—antiquated and ineffectual—of reducing the cathexis of the sensations and images. The normal sense stimulus does not disturb the primary erotism and is laid down as a perpetual memory-trace. For memory, as Rank and Ferenczi state (*Entwicklungsziele der Psychoanalyse* p. 28) may be regarded as an example of the repetition compulsion. With the withdrawal of

images from consciousness may be compared the similar mechanism of identification by introjection when a love object is found (*Das Ich* p. 32)and, above all, when it is lost.

The traumatic sensation and its repetition can occur in a strongly narcissistic person whose abnormally strong regressive desire is constantly disturbed by the shocks of war; or in a strongly narcissistic person who lacks the cathexis of the higher perception-system defences needed to repel the intruding impressions or to incorporate them at lower levels as memory traces. (Freud, *Jenseits*, p. 22.)

When sleep approaches most closely to the primary instinctive state, it is probable that the psychic activity, no longer including a perception of sensations or images as objects, is therefore not recoverable by memory on waking. However this may be, Dr. F. Morel has shown that the analogous mystical states lose the objective character of normal experience, and are afterwards described by functional symbols in proportion to the completeness of regression involved. (*L' Introversion Mystique*).

Every dream image arising in the preconscious or conscious may thus be regarded as an attempt to master a traumatic disturbance of the primary instinctive functions which are threatened by external or internal stimuli. With regard to the pleasure in psychical, physiological and temporal rhythms it is to be noted that Dr. Stefan-Hollos (*Zeitschrift VIII* part IV) finds the unconscious time-feeling to be based on the rhythmic discharge of stimuli which repeat the reaction impressed on them of cosmic stimuli (cf. Freud, *Jenseits* p. 36). With this idea may be compared the Quantum theory of Henri Poincaré who sees in time itself a series of instants, not a continuous duration.

The hypnotic experiments made by Dr. T. W. Mitchell and Mr. S. E. Hooper on the appreciation of time by Somnambules (recorded in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research Vol. XXI p. 58 and Vol. XXXIII part XXXVIII) seem to support the theory that the interest in rhythm, based on the intra-uterine perception of the beating heart, persists throughout life as a primitive pleasure in the marking of time instants. Dr. Mitchell writes (Vol. XXXIII p. 638) "It seems probable that the lower strata of consciousness can take cognisance of various organic processes which are or may be, unperceived or generally unattended to by the waking self. And if a correlation has been subconsciously established between such phases of organic life and our artificial divisions of time, the subconscious watcher is provided with an objective time-measurer which is liable to only slight variations of regularity. Such variations as normally take place in the rate of the heart-beat or of respiratory movements, are just such as would account for the inaccuracies exhibited by somnambules in their estimates of short periods. In longer periods of true time-watching the organic rhythm will usually average its normal rate, and consequently the amount of error in the time estimation of the subject is not likely to be greater for half an hour than for five minutes." One of Mr. Hooper's subjects informed him that in fulfilling his suggestions to mark the lapse of time periods fixed by him, she did not calculate, but knew, from a "sense of rhythm" when the right moment had come to write down the time. As a possible alternative explanation Mr. Hooper writes (Vol XXXIII p. 663) "The pendular rhythm of the clock may be so perfectly inscribed on the subconscious memory, and its faithful reproduction be so easy a matter, that the postulation of other factors is superfluous". In

some cases Mr. Hooper had clear evidence of an unconscious "rhythmical counting of 136800 time intervals without complaint or even boredom." In view of the difficulty in hypnosis of imposing tasks which are opposed to the wishes of the subject, the above evidence may be regarded as a support to our theory that what to consciousness would be an utterly irksome task of attention, to the primary instinctive love interest in regular repetition is a pleasant experience.

Freud explains (*Ib.* p. 30) why the man who receives a physical wound from a psychical trauma is less likely to react by a neurosis than the man who is only psychically wounded. The mechanical concussion Freud compares with swinging and the rhythmical jolting of railway travelling which are sources of sexual excitement. The sudden release of a quantity of libido by the concussion would have a traumatic effect, owing to the absence of an anxiety defence, unless a simultaneous bodily wound bound the surplus energy by a narcissistic over-cathexis of the wounded organ.

With the anxiety that follows the sudden cessation of a violent stimulation of the repetition mechanism, we may compare the anxiety that tends to follow masturbation, coitus interruptus, mystical ecstasy, hysterical dream states that are masturbatory equivalents (*Abraham Jahrbuch*, Band II) and, finally the act of birth, (*Rank op. cit.*) which abruptly ends the first stage of undisturbed repetition (*cf.* Pavlov's implantation of an inherited instinct by repeating an auditory stimulus to his hungry white mice.) Though inadequate to bind the traumatic stimuli, the primary repetition impulse normally serves a biological purpose by perpetuating useful reactions in the form of habits which promote the orderly advance towards death.

Freud refers (Jenseits p. 32) to the function of the higher psychical functions in binding the free-floating energy that comes from the impulses of the primary process (Primärvorgang). Such a mechanism we may see in the systems of memory traces which are able to bind the stimuli of normal intensity. If the stimuli are too violent, they press back to consciousness for motor outlet. When, as in modern trench warfare, this outlet is frequently inhibited, the primary process is thrown into such violent agitation that loss of consciousness, neurosis or attempt at suicide may occur as means of escape from the painful objects to the previous state of peace.

Freud states (Jenseits p. 33) that the repetition compulsion, which is so strong in the play of childhood, is destined to disappear in later life. But the disappearance is only in proportion to the development of object love and interest, which counteract the primary instinct. Extrauterine life and love seem only tolerable when the tendency to regress and repeat has an adequate outlet. Apart from morbid repetitions, like tics and obsessions, the repetition tendency is manifest in habits of work and play, in music and dancing, in prayer and ritual. And the repetition tendency may account for the acquiescence of the masses in the extreme monotony of much modern work. In the case of a relatively normal man, whose birthprocess had been difficult, I found evidence of the repetition compulsion, not only in the sleep ritual which he required to be performed in childhood, but also in his later games and habits. As a child he demanded a low, humming regular sound to be made by his mother at the bedside without interruption till he fell asleep. (Cf. the rhythmic courtship behaviour in birds and other animals as a means of inducing a hypnotic or intrauterine regres-

sion in the female. Ferenczi Versuch etc. p. 43) As a boy he spent hours drumming rhythmically with his fists on the table, beating with his feet on the floor and imitating the sound of military march music with his voice. As a man he had the habit of always walking to the accompaniment of a hardly audible humming or whistling, when he was alone. (Cf. Abraham Klinische Beiträge zur Psychoanalyse p. 162).

As an example of an event in every way beyond the Pleasure Principle, Freud refers to the compulsion to repeat, in the transference relationship to the analysis, the unpleasant experiences of frustrated and disillusioned childish love. (Jenseits p. 34) and Rank (*Das Trauma der Geburt*) has shown to what a large extent the post uterine behavior is dependent on the instincts of intra-uterine life and the tendency to repeat or avoid the birth catastrophe. And since the repetition compulsion is the chief means of compensating for the lost erotic Paradise, it seems to me impossible to regard it as evidence of an instinct beyond the Pleasure Principle. But from the time when humanity entered the present phase of repression, and evolved intelligent reactions to danger, the primitive repetition tendency has become a frequent source of suffering, disease and premature death. The dualism in the instincts to which Freud refers (*Jenseits* p. 52) only becomes manifest when a strong object love is developed in opposition to the directly regressive tendency of the primary erotism. The object lover is willing to transfer his desire for the mother to another object instead of sinking, like the mystic, immediately to the primitive state. (Van der Wolk, *Imago* IX p. 448).

In mystical ecstasies, in psychotic negativistic and stuporous states, and in metaphysical rationalizations we see the clearest workings of the primary instinct which

causes an aversion from the waking state and an attempt to escape from individuality itself. The struggle of the primary erotism against the secondary object love is manifest in oral-cannibalistic and sadistic acts, in the attempt to make coitus a return to the womb, (Ferenczi, Versuch etc. p. 47) and in the tendency to identify each new love object entirely with the first. When the primary instincts are strong, and the weak object libido cannot find an outlet, a pathological regression takes place. When, for instance, Nietzsche's fixations and the absence of hetero or homosexual love objects compelled his libido to regress, one quantum became manifest as a secondary narcissistic feeling of extreme self-importance, and another quantum as a primary tendency to identification with the whole world, a yea-saying philosophy and psychotic euphoria. When the primary instincts form a stern ego ideal with a consequent lack of love for the ego, the body and its parts, we see the destructive thoughts in the mind and the destructive processes in the body.

If the repetition compulsion represents the primitive erotism opposed to psycho-physical development, we can form a clearer idea of the dispositional factor in neurosis and psychosis, of the strong tendency of these states to stereotyped thought, speech and act, and of the tendency to introversion, automatism and uncritical repetition in mentally defective children. (See Brit. Journal of Psychology Vol. XIV pp. 56, 66).

Rank has discovered that the intra-uterine, rhythmical, undisturbed contact with the maternal environment is the most satisfying period of human life, which the extra-uterine libido strives to repeat as closely as possible by removing the traumatic disturbances following the catastrophe of birth. The phenomena which appear to Freud as tendencies to destruction and death, when regarded

from the viewpoint of the Reality Principle and conscious reason, may be related to the deepest, impersonal libidinal level (for which death does not exist) and can then be understood as means to the attainment of the most primitive state of libidinal enjoyment.

THEOLOGY LIBRARY
CLAREMONT, CALIF.

421.026

BF Moxon, Cavendish.
173 Freudian essays on religion and science / Ca-
M65 vendish Moxon. -- Boston : Badger, c1926.
133p. ; 21cm.

1. Psychoanalysis--Addresses, essays, lecture
2. Psychology, Religious--Addresses, essays, le-
tures. 3. Religion and science, 1926-1945--Ad-
dresses, essays, lectures. I. Title.

A29707

CCSC/mmb

